

# THE SCULPTURE OF KARIYE CAMII

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My field work, with a view to making a comprehensive survey of the sculpture of Kariye Camii, was undertaken at the instigation of Dumbarton Oaks in 1970. University obligations have unfortunately delayed the preparation of this survey, which I have now been able to complete with the help of a scholarship from the University of Copenhagen. A travel grant from the Ny Carlsberg Foundation in Copenhagen made it possible for me to return to Istanbul to check certain observations at a later stage. I am most grateful to these institutions and to Dumbarton Oaks for their support.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Restoration work in Kariye Camii, or St. Savior of the Chora, was commenced in 1948 and concluded in 1958. In the course of these eleven seasons the primary aim was to clean and preserve the mosaics and to put the church into presentable condition as an architectural monument. During two seasons (1957 and 1958) minor excavations were also undertaken, these being mainly concentrated on the apsidal complex and its substructures and on the area between the nave and the parecclesion. A summary report of the findings, with tentative conclusions, was published by David Oates in 1960.<sup>1</sup>

As is quite clear in the four consecutive preliminary reports,<sup>2</sup> in the final publication by Paul A. Underwood,<sup>3</sup> and in subsequent studies,<sup>4</sup> interest was predominantly centered around the mosaics and frescoes, while other aspects of the monument were neglected.

This notwithstanding, Kariye Camii contains some remarkable pieces of sculpture still *in situ*, and in addition to these a large number of fragments from various periods came to light during the restoration work and the excavations in the church.

The sculptural decoration of Kariye Camii, or what is left of it, is not homogeneous, but has been accumulated from various periods. Spolia of various kinds in many cases have been adapted to perform new functions, and appear side by side with sculptures which clearly belong to the same period as the mosaics and frescoes, and which were thus included in the extensive rebuilding and redecoration of the church implemented by Theodore Metochites in the second decade of the fourteenth century.

Chronologically, the sculptural material spans a millennium, from the Early Byzantine "Okeanos" head set on the outside of the southeastern corner of the parecclesion to the funerary monument in the north wall of the inner narthex, which is probably of a slightly later date than the well-known graves in the parecclesion.

Such parts of the sculpture of Kariye Camii as have remained *in situ* have suffered considerable damage in the course of time. Unlike the mo-

<sup>1</sup> D. Oates, "A Summary Report on the Excavations of the Byzantine Institute in the Kariye Camii: 1957 and 1958," *DOP*, 14 (1960) (hereafter Oates, "Summary Report"), 223-31.

<sup>2</sup> P. A. Underwood, "First Preliminary Report on the Restoration of the Frescoes in the Kariye Camii at Istanbul by the Byzantine Institute: 1952-1954," *DOP*, 9-10 (1956), 253-88; "Second Preliminary Report: 1955," *DOP*, 11 (1957), 173-220; "Third Preliminary Report: 1956," *DOP*, 12 (1958), 235-65; "Fourth Preliminary Report: 1957-1958," *DOP*, 13 (1959), 185-212. The sepulchral monuments were discussed by Underwood, in "Notes on the Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul: 1955-1956," *DOP*, 12 (1958), 271-82; and "Notes on the Work: 1957," *DOP*, 13 (1959), 215-28.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, *The Kariye Djami*, I-III, Bollingen Series, LXX (New York, 1966) (hereafter Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*).

<sup>4</sup> *Idem*, ed., *The Kariye Djami*, IV, *Studies in the Art of the Kariye Djami and Its Intellectual Background* (Princeton, 1975).

saics and frescoes, which were more or less effectively hidden by whitewash, the sculptures have been mutilated wherever explicit Christian scenes or signs were conspicuous. This not only creates special problems with regard to a monument like the sixth-century marble doors, but also contributes to the general impression of the sculptural remains as a collection of *dissecta membra*.

A study of the sculptural remains is to some degree hampered by the fact that virtually no information exists as to where in the church the various casual finds were made; we now know only that most of the fragments originated from excavations beneath the present floor level, from burial pits, fillings, etc.

The material that can be studied in Kariye Camii today can therefore be divided roughly into two groups: sculpture still *in situ* and casual finds. This rough division naturally dictates the arrangement of the following survey, which also by and large follows the chronological sequence of the first part of the material. It should be noted that unless otherwise stated, all sculpture discussed is of Proconnesian marble.

## II. THE MARBLE DOORS

Two doors lead from the inner narthex to the naos (fig. A). The main, central door is somewhat wider than the northern side entrance. Earlier, i.e., in the "Phase 3" church dating from the close of the eleventh century, there were two side entrances, one to the north and one to the south of the main entrance. During the complete rebuilding undertaken early in the twelfth century ("Phase 4"), the present northern side entrance was moved somewhat closer to the main entrance on account of the massive piers inserted in the corners of the nave.<sup>5</sup> That the southern side entrance is now missing is a peculiarity which Oates explains by the fact that the present asymmetrical plan for the most part dates from "Phase 4," when at the same time a parecclesion was added to the south side of the nave. Access to this chapel would have required alterations to the southern end of the narthex, and it is these alterations that have dictated the present plan.<sup>6</sup>

Situated in the narrow passageway that forms the northern side entrance, one on either side, is a pair of monumental marble doors (figs. 1, 2).<sup>7</sup> They are clearly much older than the remainder of the decoration, but were probably inserted either when the side entrance was moved slightly further south at the beginning of the twelfth century, or during the extensive restoration work carried out by Metochites.

<sup>5</sup> Oates, "Summary Report," 227 and fig. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 227.

<sup>7</sup> J. Strzygowski, "Das Berliner Moses-Relief und die Türen von Sta. Sabina in Rom," *JbPrKs*, 14 (1893), 65-81, esp. 77ff.; F. Šmit, *Kahriè-džami*, IRAIK, 11 (Sofia-Munich, 1906), II, Album, pl. 7; O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (New York, 1961), 148; A. Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines de Constantinople (IV<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Paris, 1963) (hereafter Grabar, *Sculptures*, I), 75.

The two doors do not extend down to the floor, but rest on marble slabs that have been molded at the top to mask the join, which can be seen today only under the south door. On the other hand, both doors extend up to the top and would appear to have been carved to fit into the lintel. It is impossible to state how much has been cut off the sides; basically it has only been a matter of adjustment, the greater part having been removed at the bottom and along the inner edges, which have been trimmed close to the deeply molded frames surrounding the picture panels. The general layout of the doors has not been appreciably reduced and is easy to grasp.

Preserved on each door are five panels, alternately rectangular and almost square; the pattern is a-b-a-b-a. Each panel is accentuated by a deeply carved molding which encloses it on all four sides and is more deeply carved than the system of horizontally placed T-shaped moldings that form a general framework around the panels. Like the T-shaped moldings, the deeply carved individual panel moldings are corbiestepped inward in two stages, with the middle step in the form of an astragal. The whole framework is crude and often imprecise in execution.

The internal height of the north (right-hand) door, up to the lintel, is 220 cm.; the width at the top is 78 cm. The corresponding measurements for the south (left-hand) door are 217 and 75.5 cm. respectively. The maximum thickness of the doors is 9 cm. As the moldings around the panels are carved to a depth of *ca.* 5.0 to 6.5 cm., it must be presumed that the doors were originally designed, and in fact always used for, decorative purposes only, without any practical function as proper doors. The depth to which the moldings have been carved, compared with the thickness of the doors, reveals that the marble at these places is only 2 to 3.5 cm. thick, which weakens them considerably.

Both doors are now placed so that their shutting stiles face toward the narthex. At this point on the framework of each door is a badly defaced lion's head with a ring in its jaws. The south (left-hand) door, furthermore, has traces of a little foliated capital at the top. Otherwise, the layout of the two doors is identical, with the exception of a significant little detail on the north (right-hand) door: on the frame between the scenes of The Adoration of the Cross (?) and The Ascension (lower part) (see fig. 16) there was a representation now hacked away. Apart from the foliated capitals at the top and the lions' heads on the shutting stiles, this is the only place where there is a form of decoration outside the two sets of five panels. What this little panel might have represented cannot be stated with absolute certainty, but since it was presumably integrated in the overall program I shall return to it in connection with a discussion of the iconography.

All ten panels originally featured carved figural scenes which at some time have been completely hacked away. The sculptural work can now be discerned in preserved details, such as feet or a fold or two of drapery. However, the outlines and volumes of the figures have been preserved in relation to the background to such an extent that the content of the scenes can be identi-

fied with certainty, with two exceptions: the bottom panel on each door. However, these would appear to be of secondary importance compared with the six scenes illustrated on the eight remaining panels above. Together, these form a coherent though extremely compressed program. For reasons that will be clear later the panels will be described from top to bottom on the left-hand door and from bottom to top on the right-hand door.

#### A. DIMENSIONS

*South (Left-Hand) Door* (fig. 1). Measurements of the panels: small, rectangular panels: height *ca.* 13.0 cm., width 35.5–36.8 cm.; large panels: height 28.5 cm., width 36.5 cm.

*North (Right-Hand) Door* (fig. 2). Measurements of the panels: small, rectangular panels: height 11.2–12.8 cm., width 36.0–37.3 cm.; large, square panels: height *ca.* 27.0 cm., width 35.5–36.5 cm.

#### B. DESCRIPTION OF THE PANELS

##### 1. *The Nativity* (fig. 3)

This is the best preserved of all the panels on the doors and can be identified without difficulty. It is dominated by the masonry of the manger, which takes up two-thirds of the panel. The rest of the panel, to the right, is occupied by the seated Virgin, whose body is turned toward the manger. Her feet can still be seen parallel with the plane of the background, one behind the other. The outline of her back is still fairly clear, as is the line from the knees downward. Her left hand presumably rested in her lap, while her right hand was raised to her head.

The manger is built of stones or bricks. The opening is seen slightly from above, thereby revealing the swaddled Christ Child lying with His head to the left. The shoulders can still be discerned just above the joint between the second and third bricks from the left, and the end of the swaddling is still preserved in the little part at the far right of the manger. The head rests on the lower edge of the opening; a double contour, discernible just above where the shoulders begin, indicates the halo.

One of the ass's ears and its neck have been preserved above the edge of the manger on the right, and the left horn of the ox can also be made out roughly in the middle; the position of the animals in relation to one another can thus be determined. On the far left, above the manger, is a badly mutilated section that cannot be identified.

*Iconography*: The scene is a summary representation that has been reduced to its bare essentials. Unlike many Early Christian examples there is no indication of space or locality, as the usual *tugurium*, or shed, is missing. In the arrangement of the dominating elements—the manger and the Virgin Mary—the composition is of a type that was already common prior to the Council of Ephesus.

The closest parallels to this type are to be found in the sixth century: the Maximianus cathedra,<sup>8</sup> an ivory in the British Museum,<sup>9</sup> another similar one in the John Rylands Library in Manchester,<sup>10</sup> and the marginal representation on a page in the Rabbula Gospels (fig. 4).<sup>11</sup> The format of the panel on the marble doors precludes the high, altarlike block that is a characteristic feature of the examples mentioned. Also forming part of this Palestinian iconography<sup>12</sup> is a *fenestella*, a characteristic part of the fully developed block altar, or *altare fixum*, that takes the place of the manger. This is missing, for obvious reasons, on the panel on the marble doors; but then, it is not included on the British Museum ivory, nor in the representation in the Rabbula Gospels.

Also introduced at the same time as the block altar, i.e., in the sixth century, were features such as the cave and the *kline*, or mattress, upon which the Virgin rests after the birth.<sup>13</sup> None of these features has as yet made an appearance in the marble panel; and Joseph, who at this time replaces secondary figures such as the shepherd and/or prophet in primitive Christian examples, is also missing.

This could, of course, be due to lack of space. In the top left corner of the panel there is a mutilated area which, as mentioned above, cannot be identified. One could suppose that Joseph might have been placed here in a position corresponding to that in the Rabbula Gospels, where he stands behind the manger with his head and shoulders bent over the Christ Child. However, this possibility would also seem to be excluded for reasons of space; on the other hand, there would be room for the star. In earlier representations this appears only in connection with the Magi, but it can be seen in more or less this position both in the scene on the Maximianus cathedra and on the reliquary from Sancta Sanctorum, where the star hovers above the ox and the ass.

With regard to the Virgin's somewhat isolated position and attitude, there is a certain relationship to the representation on the Werden Casket, and to earlier examples; but there is an absolutely clear similarity to the Virgin in the Rabbula Gospels. Here she has been moved into the foreground and placed to the right of the manger. This is of no significance, since at this time no fixed rules had been established with regard to the side on which she should be placed.<sup>14</sup> As far as both the form of the altar and the Virgin's pose are concerned, the representation in the Rabbula Gospels must be emphasized as an important parallel to this scene on the marble door.

<sup>8</sup> C. Cecchelli, *La cattedra di Massimiano ed altri avori romano-orientali* (Rome [1936-44]), pl. xxv.

<sup>9</sup> W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters* (Mainz, 1952) (hereafter Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*), no. 131, pl. 41 (reversed).

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 127, pl. 39. To these ivories can also be added the Werden Casket, *ibid.*, no. 118, pl. 36, and a diptych in Milan, *ibid.*, no. 119, pl. 37.

<sup>11</sup> Bibl. Laurenziana, Plut. I, 56; J. Leroy, *Les Manuscrits syriaques à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient* (Paris, 1964), 142; album, pl. 23, 1.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. K. Weitzmann, "Loca Sancta and the Representational Arts of Palestine," *DOP*, 28 (1974), 36 f.

<sup>13</sup> G. Schiller, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst* (Gütersloh, 1966-71) (hereafter Schiller, *Ikongraphie*), II, 72. The iconography of the scene is also discussed by G. Ristow, *Die Geburt Christi in der frühchristlichen und byzantinisch-ostkirchlichen Kunst* (Recklinghausen, 1963).

<sup>14</sup> Schiller, *op. cit.*, 73. The Nativity plaque in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection shows Salome sitting to the right of the manger in a pensive attitude and with a halo, a clear reflection of represen-

## 2. *The Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 5)

The scene is badly mutilated, but the outline of the figures can still be discerned and, moreover, the lowest part of the scene has been preserved to the extent of a narrow strip above the baseline that extends across the entire width of the panel. The Virgin is seated on a throne on the left-hand side of the scene. Her slender feet, placed flat on the ground, are still intact, and on either side of them can be seen the narrow front legs of the throne. The throne itself possibly rests on a small dais, as indicated by the slightly raised sections visible to the right and left of the Virgin's feet and by the holes that have been drilled along the bottom edge of the frame. The legs of the throne can be traced to approximately hip height, where an oval form close to the frame may mark the presence of a cushion or pad. As far as can be judged there was probably no back.

As is apparent from the position of the feet, the Virgin sits frontally, her knees turned slightly out to the sides. Above her feet the folds and outline of her robe can be traced up to the knees on both sides. On the right the outline of the shoulder and upper arm is still visible, and the line between the head and the neck can be seen on the left. The lower part of the halo can be seen just above the shoulders; the halo touches the edge of the frame above (the two shadows that can be seen on the photograph do not indicate the cross-inscribed halo, but are pick marks). The halo has not been carved on a single plane; from the projecting edge it recedes toward the Virgin's head. The presence of the Christ Child on the Virgin's lap cannot be established.

Between the Virgin and the Magi, at the top, is the star, overlapping the edge of the frame. The preserved positions of the feet and a piece of the drapery in the middle make it possible to establish the presence of only two Magi. The foremost, a broadly outlined figure, is in the act of taking a long step forward, apparently to kneel before the throne: his foremost (right) foot is placed parallel to the background plane, while his left foot is at right angles to it, resting obliquely on the ground.

The position of the head cannot be determined precisely, but the front edge of the robe touches the throne and the figure is clearly lower, more hunched up in its semikneeling position than the rear figure. The position of the feet of the latter is a repetition in more compressed form, but the upper part of the body is more upright; in fact, if anything it inclines slightly backward, perhaps a reaction to the sight of the star above the Virgin. Some of the drapery of the clothing has been preserved: the outlines of the shoulder, sleeve, and thigh can be traced. The head probably filled the upper right-hand corner. Between this and the star a form can be discerned that somehow would appear to touch the lower edge of the frame. This can perhaps be taken as the head of the third Magus, who in this case would have been partially concealed behind the other two, or as a raised hand. The size of the

tations of the Virgin of the type mentioned (K. Weitzmann, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, III, *Ivories and Steatites* [Washington, D.C., 1972], no. 20, pls. 3, XIX). For another viewpoint, see *ibid.*, 38, 39.

panel has made it necessary to group the figures closely, partly overlapping each other. The right foot of the rear Magus, for instance, is partly hidden behind the left foot of the figure in front of him.

*Iconography:* Just like the preceding scene, this one has been reduced to its essentials, again for reasons of space. It should be noted, however, that the interpretation of the scene offered here differs in several respects from that advanced by Strzygowski: "Links im Grunde neben ihr [i.e., the Virgin] die Umrisse des Kopfes von Josef, rechts der Engel mit dem Stabe. Von rechts her schreiten die Könige heran, der vorderste gebückt, die beiden folgenden aufrecht."<sup>15</sup>

There is a possibility that the hacked-off area in the upper left-hand corner contained a representation of Joseph; but in that case he must have been represented in an extremely awkward position with only his head and one shoulder protruding between the frame and the Virgin. Furthermore, there are no traces of the flanking angel; Strzygowski must have misinterpreted what is evidently the star.

The scene combines the lateral representation known particularly from sarcophagi, where the enthroned Virgin is placed either at an angle or shown completely in profile, with the frontal representation of the Virgin on her throne, known to us from central compositions in which the three Magi and the angel are placed symmetrically around the throne.<sup>16</sup> But it is precisely a central composition that perhaps provides the closest parallel to the arrangement on the marble doors. On the obverse of the Monza Ampulla <sup>3</sup><sup>17</sup> the Virgin is flanked by shepherds and Magi, three on either side of the throne (fig. 6). If we regard the throne and the Magi by themselves and in reverse, the result corresponds to the main features of the iconography of the panel on the marble doors.

However, in this case the Magi are far from being so subordinate to the throne, as in the central compositions, and they are by no means so static either, being full of expressive movement. In this respect, and also with regard to the boldly formulated movement of the foremost Magus, the scene in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna<sup>18</sup> is an important parallel.

Judging by the proportions and the position of the feet, the Virgin would appear to have been represented in very much the same manner as the Virgin on a sixth-century ivory relief in the British Museum (fig. 7),<sup>19</sup> except for the fact that the Theotokos on this panel of the marble doors is represented with a halo, which is omitted on the ivory relief.

When it comes to details, the representation of the Magi is not quite so clear. We cannot tell whether they were of the bearded type or beardless, nor

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, 78.

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, Monza Ampulla 1, obverse, where the Virgin is flanked by the Magi on one side and the shepherds on the other (A. Grabar, *Les Ampoules de Terre Sainte* [Paris, 1958], 16f., pl. II), or the sixth-century ivory in the British Museum (see *supra*, note 9).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 20, pl. VIII.

<sup>18</sup> F. W. Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna*, III (Wiesbaden, 1958), pl. 133.

<sup>19</sup> See *supra*, note 9.

can we determine the nature of their gifts or other details, or to what extent they may have been individualized and of different ages, as is common in the Eastern type we recognize from the principal features. There would hardly have been any grounds for raising such questions had it not been for the clear indication that the tunics of these Magi are unusually long—they extend right down to the ankles and fall over the resting left foot in both the preserved pairs of feet. This corresponds in no way to the usual representation of the Magi in Early Christian and Early Byzantine art where, with few exceptions, the costume indicates the Persian origins of the Magi: they wear a Phrygian hat, chlamys, chiton, and *anaxyrides*.<sup>20</sup>

Although it is not possible to give a detailed description of the costumes of the Magi on this marble panel, it appears that the representation already anticipates the type which was finally established in Middle Byzantine art,<sup>21</sup> where they have the appearance of kings rather than of Magi. The Phrygian hats are replaced by crowns, and the long, baggy, and often pleated *anaxyrides* disappear entirely or else are covered by the long cloak. It is thus attired, for example, that we meet them in the mosaics in Kariye Camii.<sup>22</sup> In certain early examples the cloth falls over the covered hands right down to the feet; in this case, however, the way the cloth falls around the feet would seem to indicate that the garment is in fact a long cloak.

While the nearest parallels to the frontally enthroned Virgin may thus probably be sought among the representations on the Monza ampullae and on ivories such as the British Museum's Adoration of the Magi, the way these Magi are grouped may be regarded as a compressed version of the "sarcophagus type" found in its most monumental form in the mosaics of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo. A clear parallel to the scene as a whole cannot be given, but it is striking that later representations, such as the mosaics in Daphni,<sup>23</sup> contain in their conception of the grouping and individual movements features that are clearly recognizable from the scene on the marble doors. It is very well conceivable that the scene on the marble doors reflects a model that was a forerunner of the iconography of the scene adapted in the Middle Byzantine period.<sup>24</sup>

### 3. *The Baptism: Upper Part, Sol and Luna* (fig. 8)

In this panel minor details have been preserved that give an impression of the technique and surface treatment. The scene is formed by three relatively clearly demarcated parts. The central part is quite evidently a segment of

<sup>20</sup> G. Vezin, *L'Adoration et le cycle des mages dans l'art chrétien primitif* (Paris, 1950), 67; Schiller, *Ikongraphie*, I, 110.

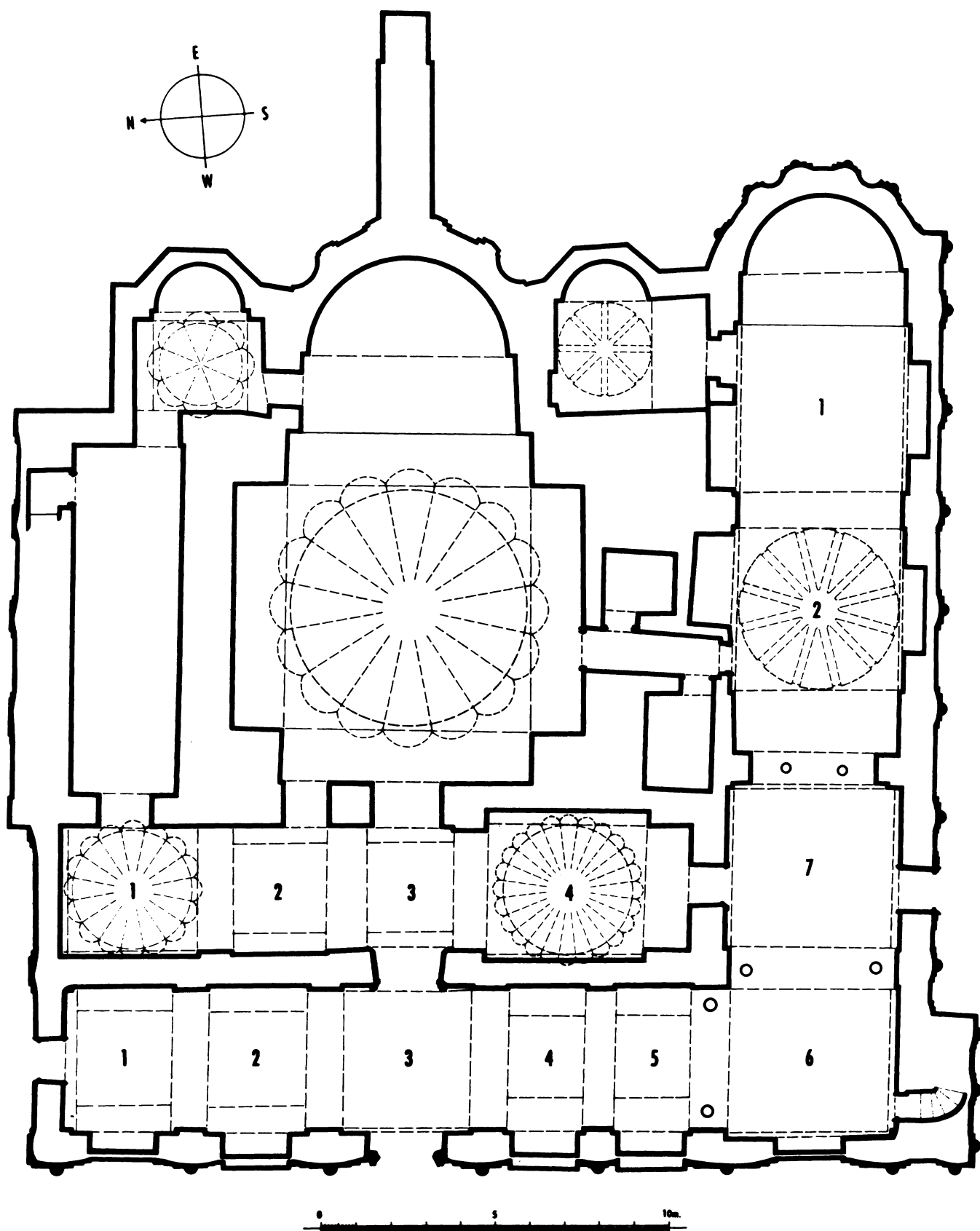
<sup>21</sup> See, for example, the last Magus in the Adoration scene in Daphni: E. Diez and O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece: Hosios Lucas and Daphni* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), 54f., fig. 83; Vezin, *op. cit.*, pl. xib.

<sup>22</sup> See the scene of "The Magi before Herod" in the outer narthex (Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, II, pl. 174).

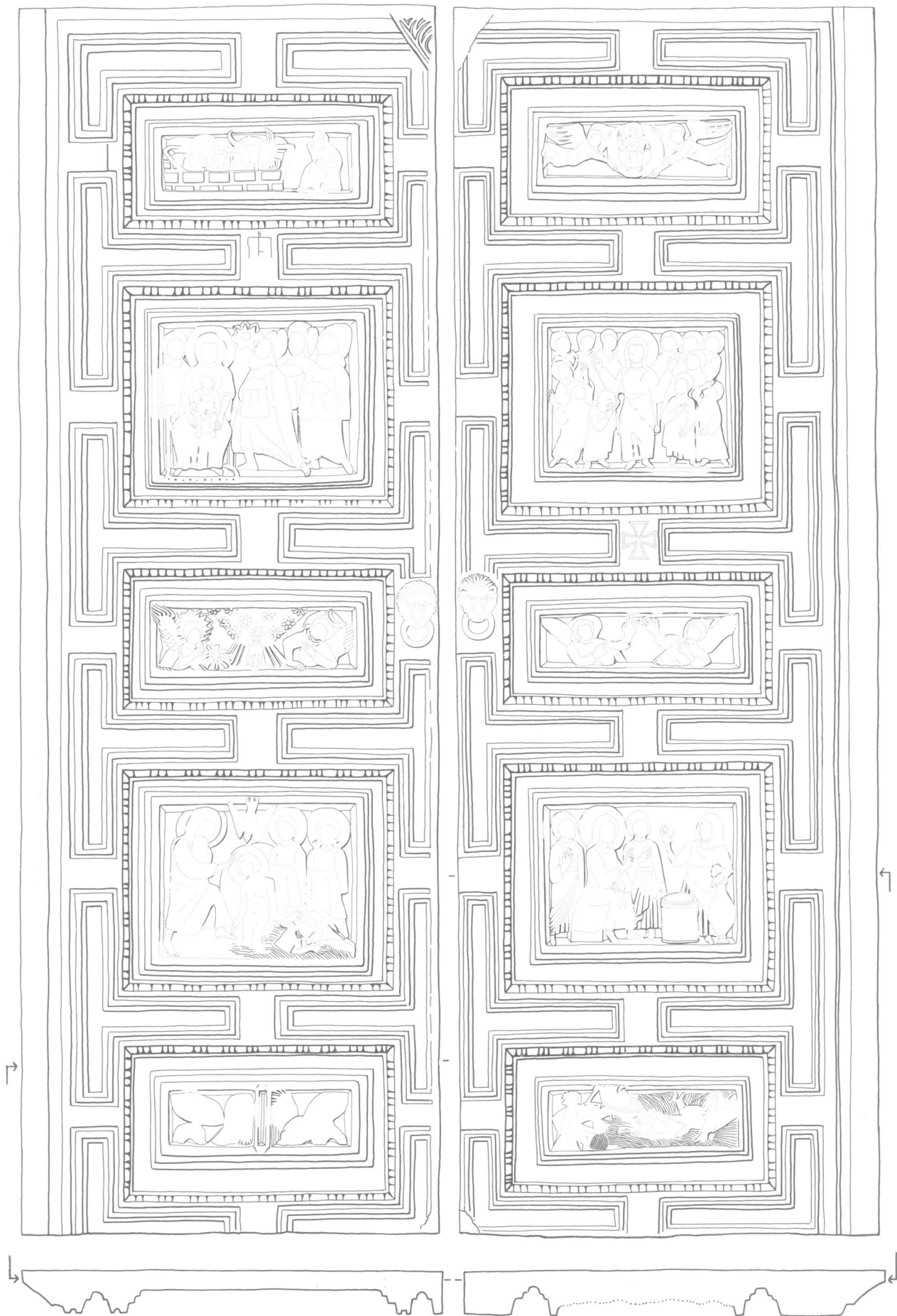
<sup>23</sup> Cf. *supra*, note 21.

<sup>24</sup> In addition to the discussions in Schiller, *Ikongraphie*, I, 110f., and Vezin, *op. cit.*, 39ff., see H. Kehr, *Die heiligen drei Könige in Literatur und Kunst*, I-II (Leipzig, 1908-9).





A. Kariye Camii, Plan (drawing: Paul A. Underwood)



B. The Marble Doors, with Suggested Reconstruction of Scenes

the firmament from which six rays descend toward the panel below. On the actual segment of the firmament several stars have been preserved: three on the right and others along the upper edge. Whether or not the Hand of the Lord filled the central part of the segment cannot be stated with certainty, but the rays are divided into two sets of three each on either side of an area that has been hacked away; it would therefore seem reasonable to assume that this has been the case.

A peculiar detail is the large star at the bottom just to the left of the left-hand set of rays. It consists of a pattern of short lines radiating from the small drilled holes that encircle the central point of the star.

The segment of the firmament is flanked by Sol and Luna, depicted half-length. Sol is on the left. A wing, of which the tips of the feathers overlap the frame, can be seen clearly in the top left-hand corner. Of the head no more than the outer part of a halo has been preserved; in some instances the spaces between the rays have been decorated with drilled holes of the same kind as in the star described above.

The right shoulder and upper arm have been preserved in a section at the far left. The grooved part just inside the frame in the lower left-hand corner is a part of the forearm and the folds of the costume. The hand is held up, slightly bent, toward the breast. Two parallel grooves extending from the frame up toward the breast at an angle are probably part of the other (left) hand.

The right-hand side of the panel differs considerably from this representation; no attempt has been made to achieve complete symmetry between the two half-length figures. Just discernible in the upper right-hand corner is Luna's head, laid back at an angle, and above it the crescent of the moon. Preserved in this entire hacked-off section is a semicircular groove which clearly marks the neckline. The figure, leaning backward, is apparently resting its left elbow on the lower edge of the frame, while the bent right arm fills the triangular space between the segment of the firmament and the rays that radiate from it. The elbow is stuck out at a somewhat awkward angle, and the flat of the hand reposes on the lower edge of the frame, where some of the fingers can also be seen. The badly mutilated area between the body and the frame was presumably the figure's wing, corresponding to that of Sol.

For the iconography, see *infra*, pp. 210–11.

#### 4. *The Baptism: Lower Part* (fig. 9)

This panel is one of the easiest to interpret on the doors. Thanks to the preserved contours, the composition and position of the figures are easy to determine. John the Baptist is placed on the far left of the panel, the upper half of his body inclined slightly toward the middle. His halo is almost complete, the contours of the upper part of his body are quite clear, and the line of his back can be traced down along the edge of the frame on the left.

The River Jordan on the central axis of the picture has been completely

hacked away. The heart-shaped section is wider at the top than at the bottom. There is no trace of Christ here, but His position can be deduced from the Baptist's outstretched right hand and from the Dove, which is flying down toward the scene. Its tail feathers and wing tips can be seen on the upper edge of the frame. The standing figure of Christ in the river must have been executed in relatively flat relief; the entire river section lies closer to the background plane than the side figures. Only at the bottom does the relief become somewhat higher, and here room has been found for the figure of the Jordan, whose torso, rising up from the water, has been relatively well preserved from the hips up to the shoulders (the shadow on the photograph is not the navel, merely a pick mark). Furthermore, the lower part of the bearded face, including part of the mouth, has been preserved; it can be seen, partly in profile, turned toward what may have been the water jar, which is held up toward his shoulder by his left arm and hand. It is possible that his right arm is raised as if to protect himself from the sight of Christ. In the section around the figure of the Jordan and beneath the feet of the angels the flowing water of the river is indicated by rows of parallel grooves.

On the right-hand side of the panel stand the two angels. Of the foremost, only the upper part of the body can be seen above the River Jordan. The outline of the shoulders can be traced, and the halo touches that of the angel standing behind; the head is slightly bowed toward Christ. The position of the rear angel is also easily detected, as the line of the shoulders and back can be followed. The arms are folded, and from the height of the hips the drapery runs in a diagonal fold down toward the heel of the rear foot.

*Iconography:* The scene as a whole (i.e., both panels) reproduces a type which was common, with small variants, during the sixth century. The central group, without additions, is essentially identical to the scene on a column shaft in Istanbul,<sup>25</sup> generally dated to the second half of the fifth century—the representation merely being reversed in relation to that on the marble doors. Commonly added to this basic type, in various combinations, are the Hand of the Lord, the Dove, the figure of the Jordan, and Sol and Luna.

Apart from the little scene on the Palestinian reliquary in Sancta Sanctorum,<sup>26</sup> three reliefs in particular invite comparison: one in Lyons,<sup>27</sup> one in the British Museum,<sup>28</sup> and one on the Maximianus cathedra in Ravenna.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> The Archaeological Museum, Istanbul, no. 659: W. F. Volbach, *Early Christian Art* (London, 1961), pl. 76, p. 326 (with bibliography); Grabar, *Sculptures*, I, 67f., pl. xxi, 1.

<sup>26</sup> C. R. Morey, "The Painted Panel from the Sancta Sanctorum," *Festschrift Paul Clemen* (Düsseldorf, 1926), 151 ff.; W. Nyssen, *Das Zeugnis des Bildes im frühen Byzanz* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1962), 69 ff., with excellent color reproduction facing p. 72.

<sup>27</sup> Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 149, pl. 49; G. de Jerphanion, "Le Baptême de Jésus dans la liturgie et dans l'art chrétien," in *La Voix des monuments* (Paris, 1930), 165 ff., pl. xxxiii, 1; G. Ristow, *Die Taufe Christi* (Recklinghausen, 1965), 28, 37, fig. 12.

<sup>28</sup> Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 141, pl. 46.

<sup>29</sup> Cecchelli, *op. cit.* (note 8 *supra*), 164f., pl. xxvii; de Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, 179, pl. xxxiii, 2; Ristow, *Die Taufe Christi*, 27, fig. 10. Also closely related to those examples mentioned here is an ampulla in Berlin: O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und Byzantinische Kunst*, I (Berlin-Neubabelsburg, 1913), pl. 306.

Lastly, to these may be added two golden encolpia from Cyprus and Palestine in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection.<sup>30</sup>

It is actually surprising that the relief on the marble doors, in contrast to the scenes mentioned above, is the only one to incorporate all the elements enumerated; this elaboration has only been possible because the scene is divided into two panels. Despite the fact that from a compositional viewpoint the scene is closest to the ivory reliefs in the British Museum and on the Maximianus cathedra, the Lyons ivory is the only one that also includes the half-length figures of Sol and Luna (fig. 10). The Dove and the figure of the Jordan are there, too; conversely, however, both the Hand of the Lord and the attendant angels are missing. The scene on the marble doors unites and coordinates the various combinations by drawing in all the elements.<sup>31</sup>

The figure of the Jordan is variously conceived, but appears mainly in two types: either facing the beholder, but with his head turned away from the main scene (Lyons and the British Museum), or with his back to the beholder (the Maximianus cathedra). Apart from the fact that the lower part of his body is concealed in the water, the posture here seems to correspond to that on the ivory in the British Museum, but with an accent on the protective gesture.

With regard to Sol and Luna, the representations on the Lyons ivory mainly reflect the same reaction to what takes place, but in this case, too, the figures are dramatized in terms of both movement and gesture. On the ivory Luna's attitude (turning away, slightly retracted) is scarcely indicated, whereas on the door it is full of movement. The somewhat awkward, backward leaning posture must have corresponded fairly closely to the personification that can be seen on a fragment in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul, except that there the figure's arm is raised, whereas on the marble doors it rests against the frame (fig. 11).<sup>32</sup>

While the attributes on the Lyons ivory can clearly be interpreted as forming part of the headgear, Sol on the marble doors has a proper halo around his head. The indication of wings characterizes the unearthly: these are celestial beings. Leclercq is sarcastic about the various interpretations of Sol and Luna, and he establishes that the ancient origin and significance of day and night stand firm.<sup>33</sup> However, as such, these personifications could not fulfill any meaningful function in the scene of the Baptism. As celestial beings, on the other hand, they emphasize by their presence Christ's initiation as Lord of Heaven and His universal role.<sup>34</sup> This role, the royal status of Christ, lies in a direct extension of an ancient tradition whereby the emperors of Late Antiquity, or the kings of the Orient, had themselves repre-

<sup>30</sup> M. C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, II, *Jewelry, Enamels, and Art of the Migration Period* (Washington, D.C., 1965), nos. 36, 37.

<sup>31</sup> Missing, however, is the wreath in the dove's bill, a rare feature which appears on the British Museum ivory and on the Palestinian medallion (*ibid.*, no. 37).

<sup>32</sup> The Archaeological Museum, Istanbul, no. 4203: Grabar, *Sculptures*, I, 48, pl. XIII, 2.

<sup>33</sup> *DACL*, XV, 2, col. 1579 ff.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Ristow, *Die Taufe Christi*, 37; and the reference to the description, in the Syrian Severus liturgy, of the sun that bows its rays and the stars that worship the baptized Christ.

sented between the sun and the moon.<sup>35</sup> That these personifications have this significance of Helios and Selene is quite clear in the scene on the marble doors.<sup>36</sup>

### 5. *Two Juxtaposed Animals (?)* (fig. 12)

The lowest panel on the south door is the only one that has been subdivided into two compartments, in this case by a solid vertical bar with a deep cavetto down the middle. Neither of the figures in the two independent compartments can be clearly identified. The contours that can be reconstructed give no immediate meaning, and only at one point has a little of the original carved surface been preserved: alongside the middle bar, on the right-hand side, are a number of parallel lines which at the top, in the corner, turn to form a fanlike shape. This corresponds to the usual way of representing feathers, which in this case are joined to a partly preserved, polished part; this bears a certain resemblance to a torso with a demarcated midriff. After an abrupt bend, the remaining course of the contour corresponds to an irregular diagonal toward the lower right-hand corner. An oval, mutilated form lies approximately at right angles to this diagonal and finally, narrowing to a point, presses against the upper right-hand corner.

On the left side of the bar faint traces of grooves and light scratches can be seen at the bottom. These could perhaps resemble wings, but the mutilated shapes cannot otherwise be combined to form a figure. It will be noted that here, too, we find a robust oval form that ends in the top left-hand corner. The shapes on either side of the middle bar are, broadly speaking, reverse images. This is a striking feature disturbed solely by the fact that all identifiable details on the left side of the bar (wing, "torso") have been completely removed.

*Iconography:* With the middle bar as an axis, the forms of the two panels would appear to be symmetrically reversed, and to correspond broadly to the animal representations which appear in large numbers on ambos, transennae, and chancel screens in the fifth and sixth centuries. That the marble doors in St. Sophia's south gallery once had representations of this kind is clearly demonstrated by one of the three preserved panels. In the bottom right-hand panel of the south pair of doors can be seen two fish, symmetrically reversed. Representations of the same type can be seen on ambos in Ravenna, especially on the ambo in the Duomo<sup>37</sup> and in the Museo Arcivescovile.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> H. P. L'Orange, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World* (Oslo, 1953), 36.

<sup>36</sup> Sol and Luna also accompany other representations of Christ (and the Virgin), and have the same function; cf., for example, the two ivory reliefs of the sixth century in Berlin: Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 137, pl. 42; *idem*, *Early Christian Art*, pls. 224–25, 355. Here they have the same position as on the marble doors, Sol on the left and Luna on the right, whereas on the Lyons ivory their positions are reversed.

<sup>37</sup> P. Angiolini Martinelli, *Altari, amboni, cibori...*, "Corpus" della scultura paleocristiana, bizantina ed altomedioevale di Ravenna, I (Rome, 1968), 28f., fig. 24.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 30, fig. 26.

The panel on the marble doors in Kariye Camii is so badly mutilated that a precise identification cannot be given; that possibilities other than animal representations (probably birds) exist is evident. The panel as such has much in common with panels on ivory caskets of the Middle Byzantine period. When compared with these, various new identifications become possible. The right side of the panel is particularly hard to associate with the representation of an animal, unless one of the more fanciful conceptions could be worked in over the remains that have been preserved;<sup>39</sup> the complex character of the forms could also indicate a combination of two figures.

It is possible that what we have here is a winged genius or putto playing with or riding a dolphin whose twisted tail ends up in the right-hand corner of the panel; its head would then have been in the left-hand corner, immediately below the winged figure.<sup>40</sup>

Whether such an interpretation is reconcilable with the left side is more doubtful, despite the symmetry. However, notwithstanding the bad state of preservation and the almost total lack of preserved areas, one recognizes, I think, the heavy and rather clumsy forms that are typical of the conception of animals in much of the preserved sculpture of the sixth century.

#### 6. *The Story of Jonah (?)* (fig. 13)

This is the most confused panel on the doors. Nothing of the original surface of the relief remains, with the exception of the many parallel wavy lines, which, when compared to the lower part of The Baptism, may be understood to represent water. The technique is typical, and, furthermore, is known in this form from a host of examples, especially on Early Christian sarcophagi.

The greater part of the panel appears to be dominated by troubled, swirling water which in approximately three-quarters of the panel surrounds an elongated, irregular form. The last quarter of the panel is more peaceful, and is also partly isolated from the remainder of the scene. Here, on the clearly marked contour of the frustum of a pyramid, can be discerned what must have been the outline of a figure. It is also possible to trace an extended arm just over what must have been the knee. In front of this figure, on the ground, is an oval basket.

*Iconography:* Of the few known horizontal scenes dominated to this extent by water, only one can be considered in this context: the story of Jonah. It would seem possible to reconstruct the following scene: on the left, a figure seated on a rock with a basket on the ground before him (a fisherman); the elongated, irregular form in the obviously rough sea no doubt represents the sea monster.

The remainder must be pure guesswork, which involves the risk—on the basis of the familiar iconography—of reading into the mutilated areas fea-

<sup>39</sup> Something similar, for example, to one of the panels on a South Italian ivory jewel casket, now in the Abegg-Stiftung, Bern: H. Fillitz, *Zwei Elfenbeinplatten aus Südtalien* (Bern, 1967), pl. 1, d.

<sup>40</sup> Cf., for instance, A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.-XIII. Jahrhunderts*, I, *Kästen* (Berlin, 1930), no. 33, pl. xxx (top).

tures which were never there. However, if we assume that the dominant, damaged area between the waves is identifiable as the sea monster, the main features of the iconography would be clear.

What is taking place between the "fisherman" and the sea monster cannot be determined. A fairly striking triangular form is implicated, namely that which breaks into the edge of the frame to the right of the "fisherman's" head. One could assume that this formed part of a ship (bow or sail), but otherwise there seems to be very little room for a ship. Early Christian and Byzantine representations of the story of Jonah did not demand inclusion of all the narrative details, even though the extremely abridged version is seldom found. In cases where the story is divided into two scenes, the panel on the marble doors shows points of resemblance with the concluding sequence, where Jonah is spewed up on land.<sup>41</sup>

For the sake of simplicity I have called the figure on the left the "fisherman." The identification (if this badly mutilated part has otherwise been correctly interpreted) is based on similarities to the seated fisherman that often forms a part of the iconography of the story of Jonah. A contributory argument is also the wicker basket, which is well preserved, and which is completely in accordance with representations of the fisherman's basket, an accessory that frequently appears.<sup>42</sup>

Whereas the story of Jonah is one of the most commonly represented in Early Christian art, it is not very often encountered in Byzantine art, and even then certainly not with a secondary figure like the fisherman. In early illustrations of the story of Jonah, such as the border scenes on the circular tabletops preserved in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul,<sup>43</sup> we can see Jonah being cast overboard from the ship, the sea monster swallowing him and then spewing him out, and finally Jonah resting in the shadow of a gourd and sorrowing over the withered gourd (Jon. 4:6-10). In somewhat reduced form the same theme is depicted in the Jonah scenes on an ivory diptych in Ravenna;<sup>44</sup> the sequence ends with Jonah resting after having been vomited out by the sea monster. The possibility exists that the seated figure on the left in the marble door panel represents Jonah resting or Jonah sorrowing under the withered gourd, in the first instance placed in a sitting position for reasons of space. Nothing of this falls convincingly into place

<sup>41</sup> For example, in F. W. Deichmann, ed., *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage*, I, *Rom und Ostia* (Wiesbaden, 1967), no. 139: Museo Pio Cristiano, inv. 154 B, end of fourth century.

<sup>42</sup> A few examples: the so-called Jonah sarcophagus, Museo Pio Cristiano, end of third century (*ibid.*, no. 35, pl. 11); sarcophagus with story of Jonah in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen (E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making* [Cambridge, Mass., 1977], fig. 33); floor mosaic in Aquileia, Aula Teodorianiana (G. C. Menis, *Nuovi studi iconologici sui mosaici teodoriani di Aquileia* [Udine, 1971], fig. 44); floor mosaic in the church of SS. Lot and Procopius at Mekhayyat, where the fisherman sits with the basket on his back (B. Bagatti, *The Church from the Gentiles in Palestine* [Jerusalem, 1971], fig. 148); floor mosaic at Thugga (Cl. Poinssot, "Quelques remarques sur les mosaïques de la maison de Dionysos et d'Ulysse à Thugga [Tunisie]," *La Mosaïque gréco-romaine*, Colloque 1965 [Paris, 1965], fig. 19); a representation of a seated fisherman (without basket), closely related to that of the marble doors on a sarcophagus slab in the Musei Capitolini, Rome (*Frühchristliche Kunst aus Rom*, exhibition catalogue, Villa Hügel, Essen, 1962, no. 466).

<sup>43</sup> Nos. 645, 655, 656: Grabar, *Sculptures*, I, pl. iv.

<sup>44</sup> Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 125, pl. 39.



in the context, and the scene can therefore be described, very hypothetically, as showing on the left a fisherman sitting on a rock with a basket in front of him. Also visible are parts of the ship from which Jonah was cast overboard. The "great fish," surrounded by troubled waters on all sides, occupies the rest of the panel.

7. *Jesus and the Samaritan Woman at the Well* (fig. 14)

In this panel several parts of the original surface have been preserved and four figures can be clearly discerned, three of them placed together in a group on the left while the fourth stands alone behind a low block on the right. This isolated figure's right hand is raised toward the three on the other side. Here, Jesus is clearly the central figure, and the large, dominating halo touches the edge of the frame at the top. The pyramidal shape of the figure and the indication of a block at the bottom suggest a sitting position, and the outline of a raised arm indicates that the figure is turned toward the right. The head, shoulders, and back can be traced down to the point where the costume overlaps that of the accompanying figure. The latter is pressed between Jesus and the frame, as if he were moving into the scene from the left; the direction of his steps and the movement are confirmed by the section in the bottom left-hand corner, where part of the costume and the right foot have been preserved. The figure in the middle of the panel is the best preserved: the completely preserved outline and the significant amount of the costume at the bottom show that it is represented frontally, though probably turned slightly toward the figure of Jesus.

*Iconography:* This scene is easily identifiable as the meeting between Jesus and the Samaritan woman at the well (John 4:5-7). The scene frequently appears in Early Christian art, and its iconographic formula was relatively soon established.<sup>45</sup> In the early versions Jesus is sometimes depicted standing, but in John 4:6 it is clearly stated that Jesus "being weary...sat."

Normally, Jesus is represented sitting by the well, as here, accompanied by one or several apostles. Even early representations of the episode usually show the well in considerable detail, including the hoisting apparatus with which the woman hauls up a jar of water.<sup>46</sup> Even in the highly compressed versions of the scene that include only the main characters, i.e., Jesus and the woman, such as that in the Rabbula Gospels,<sup>47</sup> the well is shown in this form complete with hoisting apparatus and jar.

The hoisting apparatus is also included in the most striking parallel to the scene on the marble doors, the mosaic in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo (fig. 15).

<sup>45</sup> Schiller, *Ikongraphie*, I, 168; *DACL*, XV,1, "Samaritaine," where Leclercq, however, notes the relative rarity of the scene, especially in frescoes and sculpture.

<sup>46</sup> For example, a city gate sarcophagus in Verona, ca. 400 (Schiller, *Ikongraphie*, II, fig. 4); encolpion from Adana, Archaeological Museum, Istanbul, no. 82 (*ibid.*, I, fig. 426); the cathedra of Maximianus (*ibid.*, I, fig. 453; Cecchelli, *op. cit.* [note 8 *supra*], pl. xxxi); sixth-century pyxis in the Hermitage, Leningrad (A. Bank, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of the USSR* [Leningrad-Moscow, 1966], fig. 20).

<sup>47</sup> Leroy, *op. cit.* (note 11 *supra*), II, pl. 24,2.

Here the scene is merely reversed: Jesus is seated on a rock with an apostle behind Him; both are turned in three-quarter profile toward the woman who, bent slightly forward, is hoisting the jar up from the well. The well is of the same form as that on the doors, but partially sunk into the ground.

Almost in complete accordance with the scene on the doors is an ivory in the Victoria and Albert Museum, dated by Goldschmidt and Weitzmann to the tenth century.<sup>48</sup> Here, too, the well (without any hoisting apparatus) and the positions and gestures of the woman and Jesus are virtually identical. On the ivory the two accompanying apostles are standing behind Jesus and the woman is holding the rope that goes down into the well; in the scene on the door there is an irregularly mutilated part behind her which at first sight looks like a little tree or bush, but which in reality must be the water jar standing on the ground beside the well, while the woman is still holding its rope in her left hand.

#### 8. *Adoration of the Cross* (?) (fig. 16)

In this scene the background is untouched. The outlines thus traceable can be interpreted as two half-length angels symmetrically reversed. Leaning slightly backward, they rest their wing tips against the upper left-hand and right-hand corners, and with their raised hands draw the beholder's attention upward. It seems natural to incorporate into the scene the almost oval, hacked-off section just above between the two cavetto moldings. This is the only place on the doors (with the exception of the door handles in the form of lions' heads with rings in their jaws) where the motif extends beyond the restrictive frames of the panels.

*Iconography:* The outline of the right-hand figure indicates a posture very similar to that presented by the Luna figure in the upper part of The Baptism, where the elbow of the left arm rests on the lower edge of the panel and the right arm is raised. Also related to this is the above-mentioned personification on a fragment of a panel in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul (fig. 11).<sup>49</sup> The angel on the left is somewhat more obscure in outline.

The hacked-off oval part above the panel may have been a medallion, but is more likely to have been a cross. An exact, obviously contemporary parallel to a representation of this kind exists: on a fragment of a correspondingly decorated marble door a cross has been preserved on the frame between the panels (fig. 17).<sup>50</sup> The Archaeological Museum's little fragment has preserved a scene that cannot be connected with the cross (it may be the personification of a month),<sup>51</sup> whereas the posture of the angels in Kariye Camii clearly expresses a coherence with the mutilated area above. It there-

<sup>48</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, no. 127, pl. XLVI. In the Soter baptistery in Naples the scene is combined with the Wedding at Cana, but the relation between Jesus and the woman is compositionally the same: J.-L. Maier, *Le Baptistère de Naples et ses mosaïques* (Fribourg, 1964), 80 ff., pl. iv.

<sup>49</sup> Grabar, *Sculptures*, I, pl. XIII, 1.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. XXV, 5.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 75f.

fore appears reasonable to interpret the framed panel and the little hacked-off area above as forming an (admittedly somewhat reduced) Adoration of the Cross. As such it can be compared in principle, for example, with the related scene on the Bobbio Ampulla 2,<sup>52</sup> where the angels, with covered hands and narrow wings bent backward, flank a *crux florida*.

An Adoration of the Cross at this point in the context of these scenes is well justified, since the two scenes above it clearly constitute a whole, namely the Ascension.

#### 9. *The Ascension: Lower Part* (fig. 19)

The way the figures are grouped on the panel is largely apparent from the lower area, where five pairs of feet are visible, wholly or partially preserved. The figures have varying proportions, and the feet correspond only in certain cases to the row of heads that touch or almost touch the top edge of the frame.

The central figure, which dominates the central axis of the panel and is represented full length, is the Virgin Orans. She stands frontally, her robe extending down to her feet and her maphorion hanging down to her knees; a little of the drapery has been preserved on the right. The hacked-off parts on either side of her halo are not her raised hands, but are the remains of apostles' heads; her arms are held out to the sides, slightly bent at the elbows and wrists. The position of the hands, which can be traced on the left as a faint elevation in the mutilated surface of the panel, seems to be identical to that known to us from the representation of the Virgin in the corresponding scene in the Rabbula Gospels and on the Sancta Sanctorum reliquary (see *infra*).

There are two pairs of feet on either side of the Virgin. The apostles are quite small, their heads coming no higher than the Virgin's breast. Above these standing apostles the remaining figures appear only as half-length figures; three can be made out on either side of the Virgin. The half-length figure in the top left-hand corner is the clearest, the summary drapery over the breast being preserved. In all, ten apostles can be detected in this way, five on either side of the Virgin. The last two must have been squeezed in between the others.

Unlike the frontal Virgin Orans, the apostles are represented in three-quarter profile. Despite the clumsy figures and the schematic character of the scene there is a suggestion of the characteristic dramatic movement. The two half-length figures in the corners at the top are placed diagonally, leaning slightly backward at an angle with their heads turned up toward

<sup>52</sup> Grabar, *Les Ampoules* (note 16 *supra*), pl. xxxiii. A representation with related iconography appears on the tympanum over the south portal of the church in Haho: D. Winfield, "Some Early Medieval Figure Sculpture from North-East Turkey," *JWarb*, 31 (1968), 33ff., fig. 4, pl. 30a. If the two angels supporting the Cross at the top are excepted, the relationship between the Cross and the angels—and to a certain extent also the gestures—is, in this "abbreviated" version, an interesting later parallel to the scene on the marble door, and illustrates the close iconographical connection between the Adoration of the Cross and the Exaltation of the Cross. Cf. also the bottom part of a sixth-century ivory panel in Paris, where two angels with swathed hands approach the Cross (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 132, pl. 40); or a sixth-century paten in the Hermitage (Bank, *op. cit.*, fig. 84), where two standing angels with adoring gestures flank the Cross.

Christ in the panel above. The apostle standing on the far left, who must also have been the most expressive in the panel, comes very close to the original conception and execution. He stands on the bottom edge of the frame with his full weight on his left foot. The lower part of his body sways toward the middle while the upper part leans back, and his hands (his right hand is partially preserved on the edge of the frame) are raised to shoulder height in an expressive gesture. His head is thrown back, the better to observe Christ in the panel above.

10. *The Ascension: Upper Part* (fig. 18)

The central area of the panel is taken up by a medallion that just touches the top and bottom edges of the frame. Two horizontally floating angels hold the medallion in their hands. They fill the panel completely, their feet touching the edges of the frame to the left and right, as do also the wings, which lie parallel to the top edge of the frame. The wings have horizontal, parallel feathers.

The surface of the medallion has been completely hacked away, but despite its modest size it would appear to have contained a seated, blessing Christ (and not a Chi Ro monogram); there is a small, untouched part on the left which can perhaps be interpreted as part of the outline of a shoulder.

*Iconography:* The natural horizontal division of Ascension representations into two zones has here been logically adapted to the decorative system of alternating large and small panels on the marble doors. In principle the representation on the doors is wholly in accordance with the type known to us from the Rabbula Gospels (fig. 20) and the reliquary casket in Sancta Sanctorum (fig. 21), although the former is far more specific and detailed.<sup>53</sup> The very summary representation on the marble doors is closer to the iconography of the Sancta Sanctorum reliquary, where Christ, however, is borne up by four angels and not two, as here.

In this respect the scene corresponds iconographically to the small representations of the Analepsis on the Monza and Bobbio ampullae, e.g., Monza 2 (reverse);<sup>54</sup> in this simplified scene the apostles are arranged as a row of uniformly suggested figures. In details certain postures are recognizable from more elaborate versions; an example is the standing apostle in the bottom right-hand corner who clutches his head with his right hand as a gesture to show that he is overwrought. The type is familiar from several other representations of the Ascension, such as one of the apostles to the left of the Virgin on the Monza Ampulla 1.<sup>55</sup>

The floating angels in the upper panel are of a well-known type, here

<sup>53</sup> The Rabbula Gospels, fol. 14r: Leroy, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 33; Sancta Sanctorum reliquary: Weitzmann, "*Loca Sancta*" (note 12 *supra*), 43f., fig. 29; Nyssen, *op. cit.* (note 26 *supra*), 83ff., color reproduction facing p. 90. For a discussion of the iconography in relation to apse decorations, see C. Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1960), 95f.

<sup>54</sup> Grabar, *Les Ampoules*, pl. v.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. III (reverse).

very crude in their execution, and present no problems from an iconographical viewpoint.

The description and identification of the scenes—as far as they have been possible—justify the order chosen. The ten panels cover a total of eight scenes, four on each door, which clearly indicate a program (fig. B) and which, with regard to all important features, also follow a chronological sequence.

Taken in the order presented here, starting with the top panel of the south door and ending with the top panel of the north door, we have six scenes covering the life and death of Christ and an additional two scenes which together form a foundation for this sequence whose significance is either theologically neutral (two juxtaposed animals [?]) or else represents a typological parallel to one of the scenes above (The Story of Jonah).

The south door is dedicated to the story of Christ's childhood. The north door indicates by a single scene (Jesus and the Samaritan Woman) His gospel and activity on earth, but is otherwise dominated by The Ascension. In this way, and by stressing the Cross, His divine nature is emphasized (and also premised by the Jonah scene).

The repertoire is well known, and the main scenes function principally as excerpts from the festival cycle. Remarkable is the emphasis on The Baptism and The Ascension, even though these are scenes which, on account of the vertical format, naturally require the space of two panels out of consideration for a correct disposition of the figures. An additional striking circumstance—assuming that the scenes are otherwise correctly interpreted—is that Christ's suffering and death on the Cross are omitted, and are merely indirectly intimated in the context.

There is a symbolic coherence between the doors and the choice of scenes decorating them. This is already expressed in Jesus' own words, specifically in John 10:9: "I am the door: by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved...." And before this (verse 7), He describes Himself as "the door of the sheep."

The doors thus become a symbol of Christ Himself: by confessing to Him—by passing through the doors, or, as here, by crossing the threshold and leaving them on either side—an act of faith is performed that leads to man's salvation; any man, by entering, "shall find pasture." The symbolism of the door is quite explicit in St. Sophia: over the main Imperial Door is a small bronze relief of an open book on a throne with a descending dove immediately above it. Reproduced on the pages of the book is an excerpt from precisely the passage quoted above from the Gospel of St. John.<sup>56</sup>

Regarded thus, the symbolic content of the doors corresponds in general terms to the customary interpretations of the symbolism of church doors: the doors are a symbol of Christ and at the same time, by virtue of their transitory character, the entrance to Paradise.<sup>57</sup> The paradisiac concept is

<sup>56</sup> H. Kähler, *Hagia Sophia* (London, 1967), pl. 62.

<sup>57</sup> For recent surveys of these interpretations, see U. Götz, *Die Bildprogramme der Kirchentüren des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts* (Magdeburg, 1971), esp. 9 ff.; and M. English Frazer, "Church Doors and the Gates of Paradise: Byzantine Bronze Doors in Italy," *DOP*, 27 (1973), 145 ff.

emphasized here by the dominant Ascension scene of the north door and by the fact that the traditional Crucifixion is replaced by an *Adoratio Crucis*. The doors in Kariye Camii are also the gates of Paradise in the broadest sense of this concept (which includes the conception of the actual church building as the heavenly Jerusalem), but in the choice and arrangement of scenes there are certain characteristics that deserve closer inspection.

In their context the scenes are dominated by the idea of Christ's divine nature. The Nativity is immediately followed by The Adoration of the Magi;<sup>58</sup> both these scenes occupy the upper half of one door as a pendant to The Ascension on the other. The Incarnation is followed directly by The Adoration; in other words, it is immediately established that Jesus is the Son of God. In this scene—as in the concluding one—the Virgin is given an important role in accordance with Byzantine iconography.

Through The Baptism the divinity of the incarnated Logos is emphasized, and the idea is made very explicit on this door: not only are the segment of the firmament and Sol and Luna placed in a separate panel, but the divine, heavenly symbol of the Star in The Adoration, the segment of the firmament, and the Dove in The Baptism form a vertical axis which serves to bind the scenes on this door together.<sup>59</sup> All three scenes represent events that were celebrated together at an early date in the Orthodox Church. The rare emphasis placed on Sol and Luna, which reflect the Helios and Selene of Late Antiquity, grouped around the star-studded segment of heaven with its powerful pencil of rays directed (together with the Dove) toward Christ, is like a visualization of the words in the liturgy of Severus, where it is said that the sun bows his rays and the stars worship the baptized Christ.<sup>60</sup> The description is related to the formulation used by Ignatius of Antioch in his Epistle to the Ephesians; a star brighter than all other stars shines in the heavens, and all the other stars, likewise the Sun and the Moon, gather around this star, forming a chorus.<sup>61</sup> The divine omnipotence and the cosmic significance of The Baptism, in that through it Christ is established in His universal supremacy, are emphasized.

It is interesting that Christ's work on earth is not illustrated by The Raising of Lazarus, the miracle scene most commonly used, which in the classical *Dodekaorton* occupies this place in the sequence of events. Here the scene is replaced by that of Jesus' meeting with the Samaritan woman at the well of Jacob, a scene which admittedly is extremely common in Early Christian art, but is not often seen in this context.<sup>62</sup>

The scene is explained, however, by The Baptism, which is its logical pendant. Whereas John only baptized with water, Christ baptized with the Holy Spirit (John 1:33): "... but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same

<sup>58</sup> Compared with the selection we find, for example, on ivories, this is unusual; what we have there is a selection of scenes from the *Dodekaorton*, and The Nativity is followed as a rule either by The Presentation in the Temple or The Baptism.

<sup>59</sup> Schiller, *Ikonographie*, I, 144.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 138; Ristow, *Die Taufe Christi* (note 27 *supra*), 37.

<sup>61</sup> Ignatius ad Ephesos 19,2f.: G. Schille, *Frühchristliche Hymnen* (Berlin, 1965), 117.

<sup>62</sup> Yet it appears, together with miracle scenes, after The Baptism and The Entry into Jerusalem on the rear of the Maximianus cathedra (Cecchelli, *op. cit.* [note 8 *supra*], pl. iv).

said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and remaining on him, the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost." In Jesus' conversation with the Samaritan woman He declares that those who drink of the water of Jacob's well will thirst again, "but whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life" (John 4:14).

The two statements are parallel, as are the positions of the two scenes. The scene of the Samaritan woman is clearly related to the scene of The Baptism in that it refers back to it; it is a condition of the work of the incarnated Logos here on earth that is illustrated by the meeting at the well.

A corresponding symmetry can be observed in terms of both content and composition in the middle panels on both doors. On the south door Sol and Luna flank the segment of the firmament from which the Holy Spirit descends upon Christ, while on the north door two angels adore the Cross.

The Christological sequence is concluded by the broadly executed Ascension representation. The position of this scene in relation to the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi reveals again that the program has been developed along thematic parallels; the emphasis here is on the thematic coherence between the Incarnation and the Ascension. The frontal, axially placed Virgin, who dominated the whole panel by her size, is of the hieratic type, and by her presence helps to accentuate the dogma of the Incarnation.<sup>63</sup>

In the classical *Dodekaorton* The Anastasis usually precedes The Ascension. The scene is missing here, but on the other hand on the north door there is a Jonah scene which, by its position at the bottom, seems to be somewhat out of place in the scheme outlined here. The story of Jonah combined with New Testament scenes is not, however, an unprecedented feature,<sup>63a</sup> and does not appear to break the unity of the program.

It would seem possible to link it in two ways. The first is as a prefiguration of the death and resurrection of Christ, since the story of Jonah was regarded by the early Church Fathers as an Old Testament precursor of the Resurrection. Just as Jonah spent three days and nights in the belly of the whale, so did Jesus spend three days and nights in the bowels of the earth.<sup>64</sup>

The position of the Jonah scene at the bottom of the north door makes a discreet commentary on the course of events depicted on the door. That the Passion of Christ is thus rearranged or merely alluded to is wholly in accordance with the basic idea underlying the whole scheme, where we have also seen The Crucifixion substituted by an Adoration of the Cross.

It is also possible that the scene is linked to the program on another level, to be interpreted in connection with The Nativity and The Baptism. In what is probably a contemporary Syrian baptismal liturgy we are reminded that Jesus, in accordance with the will of God and the Holy Spirit, "lived in three

<sup>63</sup> Weitzmann, "Loca Sancta," 43f.

<sup>63a</sup> Cf., for example, Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 125; *idem*, *Early Christian Art* (note 25 *supra*), pl. 233, p. 355.

<sup>64</sup> U. Steffen, *Das Mysterium von Tod und Auferstehung. Formen und Wandlungen des Jona-Motifs* (Göttingen, 1963), 145f.; R. Farioli, *Elementi di iconografia cristiana* (Bologna, 1964), 76f.

earthly dwellings," in the maternal womb of the flesh, in the womb of the baptismal water, and in the miserable caves of the underworld. Thereupon, the heavenly power is invoked in a prayer for help that we may be raised from the abysmal depths up to the glorious dwellings of the Trinity.<sup>65</sup> Only after birth, baptism, and death is man elevated to the state of heavenly salvation.

The thought that is expressed here is directly linked to what Paul wrote in his Epistle to the Romans (6:3-5): "Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into his death? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life. For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection."

It is remarkable that the scenes that are bound up with the suffering and death of Christ have a triumphal character. The program of this pair of doors is complete and consistent. The only thing one can really wonder about is the apparent imbalance in the arrangement resulting from the bottom panel on the south door, the one that would appear to have featured two animals or birds. If correctly interpreted it has merely a neutral function without representing any form of commentary in relation to the Christological sequence, as is the case with the Jonah scene. The panel may have this neutral content because the scheme could not satisfactorily be adapted to the given number of panels and their alternating sizes. The scene would in this case be decorative "padding" that admittedly creates an immediate effect of asymmetry, but yet is placed in such a way that it does not weaken the concordance; on the contrary, it may have been inserted to support the horizontal parallelism between the panels of the two doors.

One would like to know the original location and purpose of these marble doors. The possibilities are undoubtedly limited by the fact that these are not real doors, but dummies. They may have had the same function as the sham doors in the south gallery in St. Sophia, i.e., as part of a partition screen (fig. 22). Another possibility is that by being let into the side walls of a passage they become an imitation of open doors. This was what Strzygowski presumed in his early discussion of them.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Schiller, *Ikongraphie*, I, 139. For the Baptism as rebirth after the descent into the waters of death, see P. Lundberg, *La Typologie baptismale dans l'ancienne église* (Uppsala, 1942), 148f.; J. Daniélou, *Bible et liturgie* (Paris, 1951), 60ff.

<sup>66</sup> Strzygowski, *op. cit.* (note 7 *supra*), 81. The evidence pertaining to the use of sham doors in Constantinople (the partition screen in the south gallery in Hagia Sophia, the Kariye marble doors, the fragment in the Archaeological Museum [briefly discussed by Grabar, *Sculptures*, I, 75, pl. xxv,5]) is interesting when seen in relation to the number of decorated genuine church doors and to a rather obscure passage in a letter from Hypatius, Bishop of Ephesus, in answer to an inquiry from Julian of Altramyton. His *Symmikta zetemata* is incompletely preserved, but F. Diekamp published the part of Book I that deals with the question of the legality of having images in churches (*Analecta Patristica*, OCA, 117 [Rome, 1938], 127-29; English trans. P. J. Alexander, in *HThR*, 45 [1961], 178-81. From this it appears that Julian could not accept sculpture in churches "except on the doors." To what extent this passage refers to door curtains or doors proper is not clear (J. Gouillard, in *REB*, 19 [1961], 71). See also E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm," *DOP*, 8 (1954), 94 note 33, 131 note 211. I am preparing a survey of preiconoclastic decorated church doors seen in the light of the passage in Hypatius' letter.



*Date:* The examples I have given in the discussion of the iconography of these scenes have to a great extent been taken from preiconoclastic material, mainly from the fifth and sixth centuries. An impression of the style is suggested by The Baptism and the scene of Christ and the Samaritan woman. The preserved parts, namely the river god, the water, and the haloes in the former, and the remnants of drapery and feet in the latter, reveal a soft, often rather imprecise modeling that can also give the impression of a somewhat vapid surface and unclear moldings and outlines—as, for example, the haloes in the Baptism. This impression is wholly confirmed by the deep, T-shaped, corbiestepped moldings that frame the panels. As I already mentioned in the introduction, these are rather imprecise in execution. It often seems as if the distribution of the individual elements, such as in the astragal motif in the decorative system, has merely been executed freehand, or by rule of thumb. The modeling is very typical of a large number of monuments of the sixth century; here it is sufficient to refer to the above-mentioned ambos from Ravenna<sup>67</sup> and examples of chancel screens and the like from Constantinople.<sup>68</sup>

The obvious parallel to the marble doors in Kariye Camii is naturally the two pairs of doors which together form the well-known partition screen in the south gallery of St. Sophia (fig. 22).<sup>69</sup> Broadly speaking, both display the same system of framed panels; the use of the characteristic T-shaped moldings around the panels is especially striking in both cases, as is the bead-and-reel ornament. Apart from the fact that there are variations in the proportions between the highest and lowest surfaces of the individual sections, and that the moldings in the marble doors in Kariye Camii are deeper, the workmanship and the treatment of the marble is the same in these imitation doors. This can also be observed in details such as the design of the little foliated capital that crowns the shutting stile on the south (left-hand) door in Kariye Camii and the southern pair of doors in St. Sophia. Although the partition screen in St. Sophia can hardly be in its original position—the way it is fitted precludes that possibility—the carving and style of the motifs correspond closely to other parts of the original decoration of the church.<sup>70</sup> A dating to the sixth century must, therefore, also apply to the marble doors in Kariye Camii.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Angiolini Martinelli, *op. cit.* (note 37 *supra*), no. 19: ambo in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. various examples cited by Grabar, *Sculptures*, I, pl. xxv; F. Zuliani, *I marmi di San Marco* (Venice [1970]), nos. 29, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43a, b, 44a, b, 45a, b.

<sup>69</sup> Strzykowski, *op. cit.*, 75f.; E. H. Swift, *Hagia Sophia* (New York, 1940), 78.

<sup>70</sup> Contrary to the view expressed here, Mathews sees the screen as a part of the original layout of the gallery; cf. T. F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople. Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, Pa.—London, 1971), 95. Compare my fig. B with a line drawing of the doors in Hagia Sophia, in A. Orlandos, 'Η ξυλοστεγος παλαιοχριστιανικη βασιλικη της μεσογεωακης λεκανης, Βιβλιοθηκη της εν Αθηναις αρχαιολογικης εταιρειας, 35 (Athens, 1952), II, 417, fig. 377. This emphasizes the common general layout and use of the same system of profiles and moldings. The same characteristics can also be observed on the two small panels with representations of doors above the entrance to the naos in Kalenderhane Camii (fig. 23). These, too, are reused and undoubtedly of the sixth century. Cf Strzykowski, *op. cit.*, 76f.

<sup>71</sup> Strzykowski, *op. cit.*, 79. Swift's dating to the ninth century (*op. cit.*, 71) is refuted by Mathews (*op. cit.*, 95).

## III. SCULPTURE IN SITU

## A. NAOS

1. *Lintel over Main Door* (figs. 24a-b)

The lintel is 227.0 cm. long, and is terminated at the top by a smooth edge *ca.* 2.0 cm high; the sculptured panel is barely 12.0 cm. high. The lintel is set deeply into the wall, protruding about 13.0 cm. from the marble paneling. It is composed of two pieces of almost precisely the same length. The right corner has been broken off, but was found in a rubble fill blocking one of the prothesis windows which is now reopened.<sup>72</sup>

The lintel, with its strongly profiled architrave underneath, functions as a kind of support or base for the mosaic of The Dormition which is set in a marble frame over the main door. Restoration work over the door revealed that a crack in the mosaic had been caused by the closing up of an arched recess behind it with a number of horizontal rows of bricks. These rested on wooden beams which in turn rested on the marble lintel and the architrave.<sup>73</sup> The lintel thus had a supporting function, but it is doubtful whether the break in the middle had any connection with this. The lintel is a reused piece which has had a section removed from the middle to make it fit in its new position.

The sculptured decoration consists of a continuous, undulating rinceau whose branches encircle baskets of fruit or form bases for vases with drinking birds grouped around them. Represented are various birds—pigeons, peacocks, and a duck—and fruit baskets containing three fruits.

This frieze is lightly gessoed and painted; the background is blue and the rinceau, baskets, vases, and birds are picked out in yellow. There is a little blue paint here and there on individual leaves and on one bird's wing, probably as a result of later, careless repainting.

The modeling is quite pronounced, with variations between the various planes of the relief and a number of striking details. The fruit baskets and vases are in the highest relief. The general effect is rich and luxuriant, and the clearly sculpted details would indicate that the decoration was intended to be seen from a certain distance.

Just above the rim of the vases to the right and the left are sockets (the one over the left vase is 3.6 cm. deep) with rounded and polished edges; these sockets probably held supports for curtains.

This type of decoration is often found in conjunction with lintels, chancel piers, and the like. The conception of the birds is related to that found on a group of fragments of a cornice, now in the Byzantine Museum in Athens but originally from St. Menas in Salonika, and tentatively dated to the end of the fourth or the fifth century.<sup>74</sup>

The lintel in Kariye Camii, however, would appear to be somewhat later;

<sup>72</sup> This information was supplied by Ernest Hawkins.

<sup>73</sup> Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 167.

<sup>74</sup> Grabar, *Sculptures*, I, 73 f., pl. xxiv.

the modeling is soft and slightly heavy in character. This applies both to the birds and to the rinceau in the background and the few vine leaves that can be discerned behind some of the birds.<sup>75</sup> These are more in accordance with the stylistic traits of a considerable amount of the sculpture of the sixth century—though they are still far from being as soft and imprecise in the rendition of volumes as, for example, on the sham doors in the south gallery of St. Sophia.

There is a detail which is typical of the sixth century in Constantinople: the fruit basket containing (here) three pear-shaped fruits. These dough-like, amorphous forms are a characteristic feature of the form vocabulary in the sculpture from St. Polyeuktos,<sup>76</sup> and the motif as a whole can be seen in an identical although somewhat cruder version on the doors in St. Sophia (fig. 25). The architrave in Kariye Camii can therefore be dated to the sixth century.<sup>77</sup>

## 2. *Templon*

One of the most remarkable features of the sculptural decoration in Kariye Camii is what is left of the templon. It is admittedly in too incomplete a state of preservation to attempt a detailed reconstruction, but the panel above the Hodegetria mosaic is qualitatively perhaps the most impressive sculpture in the church (fig. 26), and to it can be added a few significant fragments from the overall scheme which have been preserved and replaced *in situ*, and which make it possible to visualize the main elements of the templon arrangement.<sup>78</sup>

The following fragments are now preserved *in situ*:

- a. The canopy with a bust of Christ Pantokrator over the Hodegetria panel.
- b. A capital which originally crowned twin shafts to the right of the mosaic panel.
- c–d. Two corbels at the base of the same panel, originally supporting twin shafts.
- e–f. Two corbels in an identical position at the base of the Christ panel.

<sup>75</sup> The modeling of the leaves may be compared, for example, with corresponding details in the sculpture material from St. Polyeuktos; an example is the leaf ornamentation on the crown molding on a capital, now in the Archaeological Museum in Barcelona: R. M. Harrison, "A Constantinopolitan Capital in Barcelona," *DOP*, 27 (1973), 297 ff., fig. 3. See also *infra*.

<sup>76</sup> Examples in R. M. Harrison and N. Firath, "Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul: Fourth Preliminary Report," *DOP*, 21 (1967), 273 ff., figs. 12, 13, 14.

<sup>77</sup> Zuliani, *op. cit.*, 162, sees the lintel in conjunction with the sculpture of the eleventh century, even though it is unclear whether the lintel itself may be regarded as eleventh-century. It is correct that the later examples precisely follow the Early Byzantine compositional scheme for such lintels, where leaf motifs are combined with zoomorphic ones. Attempts to copy the prototypes are most convincing in representations of zoomorphic motifs. Cf. a twelfth-century fragment of a lintel from Corinth (A. Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines du Moyen Age*, II [*XI<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*] [Paris, 1976] [hereafter Grabar, *Sculptures*, II], no. 104, pl. LXXXII), contemporary fragments in the Byzantine Museum, Athens (*ibid.*, no. 106, pl. LXXXII), or the lintel dated 1205 from a cloister on Hymettus outside Athens (*ibid.*, no. 105, pl. LXXXI, e).

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 132.

To these can be added the capital in Leningrad which has now been identified as having once formed part of this arrangement. It was reproduced for the first time by O. Wulff,<sup>79</sup> but has recently been discussed at length by Hans Belting.<sup>80</sup>

It is probable that a few of the remaining preserved fragments also once formed part of the templon arrangement (see *infra*, nos. 19, 21, 22, pp. 276–79), but as none of them can be placed in this context with certainty they will be omitted from the discussion at this stage.

Fragments a–f will hereafter be described as parts of a coherent whole, starting with the panel above the Hodegetria mosaic and continuing clockwise.

a. *Canopy over Hodegetria Panel* (fig. 27): This rectangular panel (111.0 cm. high × 157.0 cm. wide), whose frame consists of an obliquely set lotus-and-palmette frieze, encloses a large arch of acanthus leaves, the points of which are turned over and undercut. Within this acanthus frieze runs a molding consisting of a leaf frieze with a little cross inserted at the top and an egg-and-dart frieze. Together these enclose the central panel, where the space surrounding a medallion containing a half-length figure of Christ Pantokrator is filled with entwined vine runners ending in fruits not unlike pomegranates. The central lunette rests on an acanthus frieze, the leaves of which have outwardly curved, undercut points in the same way as those around the arch. At some time this frieze has been brutally trimmed along the bottom. The spandrels are filled with half-length figures of angels and a single, twisted vine runner.

The bust of Christ Pantokrator<sup>81</sup> is placed in a circular medallion whose edge is decorated with a herringbone ornament. Two small medallions on either side of the bust bear the monogram IC XC. The cruciform halo overlaps the edge of the medallion at the top, touching the beading, in the same way that the bust of Christ overlaps the circumference of the medallion at the bottom. Christ's right hand is slightly raised in blessing, and in His left He holds a Bible, which is closed with a clasp. The surface is so badly damaged that it is no longer possible to see whether it had a decoration. The arms of the cross in the halo are decorated with an ornament which resembles a precious stone of rhomboid form set between four pearls.

The face and hands have been hacked away, but it can be seen that Christ is represented with long hair falling down over His shoulders and bearded.

The medallion shows clear traces of the yellow pigment which covered

<sup>79</sup> *Op. cit.* (note 29 *supra*), II (1918), 504, fig. 431.

<sup>80</sup> "Konstantinopol'skaja kapitel' v Leningrade. Rel'efnaja plastika pozdnevizantijskogo perioda v Kahrie Džami," in *Vizantija južnye slavjane i drevnjaja Rus' zapadnaja Evropa. Iskusstvo i kul'tura* (= *Festschrift V. N. Lazarev*) (Moscow, 1973) (hereafter Belting, "Konstantinopol'skaja kapitel"), 136–55. I am indebted to professor Belting, who kindly allowed me to read this article before publication. Identification of the Leningrad capital as a part of Kariye Camii's templon arrangement had already been suggested by O. Feld, "Mittelbyzantinische Sarkophage," *RQ*, 65 (1970), 163 note 13. A fourteenth-century date is accepted in *Iskusstvo Vizantii v sobranijah SSSR*, III, *Iskusstvo XIII veka. Iskusstvo Paleologovskogo vremeni. Pozdnevizantijskij period* (Moscow, 1977), 156, no. 1006.

<sup>81</sup> The representation of Christ Pantokrator is naturally an integrated part of the panel's relief, and is not executed in fresco, as stated by J. Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (Harmondsworth, 1970), 147.

everything with the exception of the background. It is now covered by a greenish hue, probably a decomposed blue.

The busts of the angels in the upper corners have their heads turned slightly toward Christ. In both cases the hand nearest the frame holds a staff which becomes part of the edge of the frame. The hand nearest the arch is held in against the breast, the palm open, facing outward. The costumes are simplified, reduced repetitions of Christ's costume, the most striking feature of which is the drapery that passes diagonally down over the breast from His left shoulder. The heads of the angels overlap the frame, so that in both cases the halo is "bent" to follow the angle of the obliquely set lotus-and-palmette frieze. The heads are inclined slightly inward and downward and their thick hair falls down over their shoulders in twisting curls. The inner wing is stretched out horizontally to fill the spandrel, while the other is folded down behind the shoulder and back and is completely hidden by the frame.

Technically, the panel as a whole is the finest to have been preserved in the church, and does in fact stand out as one of the most imposing pieces of Late Byzantine sculpture. The artist has alternated with complete confidence between different planes, has varied and graduated the piercing of the relief according to the context (cf., for example, the acanthus frieze vis-à-vis the rinceau in the central panel), and has removed every suggestion of massivity or weight.

A constantly vibrating play of light and shadow, which is further intensified and varied by the projecting, curved tips of the leaves, has been established about the central figure of Christ. This must have created the impression of an incorporeal, floating, golden medallion, the magnetic field toward which all other components are compositionally oriented and therefore subordinated.

This effect has been accentuated, the technical refinements being, so to speak, accelerated toward the central point, from the usual frieze on the frame of the relief over the skillfully executed acanthus arch (which, despite minute piercing and undercutting, still permits the projecting, curved tips of the leaves to hang 5.5–6 cm. out from the background plane) to the vine runners around the Christ medallion, which have been carved completely free from the background.

The same technique can be observed in the modeling of the angels and the figure of Christ, although the more summary treatment of the angels has been naturally imposed by the reduced format. In the treatment of Christ a very explicit differentiation has been made between undergarment and pallium. The latter hangs slightly forward over His right shoulder and is then pulled tight in a diagonal from the left shoulder down to the hand raised in blessing. Here the folds run parallel, but with taut precision, while those in the undergarment fall more softly and amply, with a different textural quality.

b. *Capital South of Hodegetria Panel* (figs. 28a–c): Immediately under the canopy, this capital has been replaced in what must have been its original position. During restoration work in the 1950s this capital was found in the

fill of one of the north windows of the prothesis.<sup>82</sup> Ernest J. W. Hawkins placed it in its present position, which must be the correct one, partly because of the figure's orientation, and partly because the right side of the capital is uncarved and must therefore have been placed against a wall.<sup>83</sup>

The capital is 25.0 cm. high, not counting the projecting edge for the double columns or colonnettes, which adds another 1.5 cm.<sup>84</sup> The abacus projects slightly over the block of the capital, giving it a total width of 24.0 cm.<sup>85</sup>

As mentioned above, the right side of the capital is plain; only the front and the left side that faces the mosaic have been carved. But here, too, the preparatory work reveals the intended placement. Growing up around the two carved sides of the block of the capital are two branches with pointed leaves, not unlike acanthus. On these sides the foliage has been deeply underbored with a drill. On the side facing the mosaic and on the corner this has been carried out consistently, the depth of the underboring being comparable to that in the acanthus leaves on the arch in the canopy above. On the other hand, it is only indicated, or greatly reduced, on the corner facing the wall.

The front is taken up by a half figure with a halo, holding a book and facing the mosaic. The halo overlaps the lotus-and-palmette frieze in the same way as do the haloes of the angels on the canopy. In other respects the modeling also corresponds quite closely to that familiar to us from the angels:<sup>86</sup> the body is indicated by an outline, and the drapery is summarily treated and restricted to the elementary main features. The head has been knocked off and the hacked-off area also includes part of the neck and the figure's left shoulder. Enough has been preserved, however, for the square cut of the neckline to be recognizable.

The type is well known, and as there were four capitals in all, including the one in Leningrad (fig. 29), there is nothing to refute identification with one of the four Evangelists who flanked the two mosaic icons here in pairs.<sup>87</sup>

On the underside of the capital there are traces of fittings for twin columns, an irregular, almost oval depression measuring 10.0 × 5.5 cm. and encircled by a rope ornament. There are still traces of rust in the depression, as if the

<sup>82</sup> E. J. W. Hawkins' notes concerning technical observations were written at Belting's request for use in his article (note 80 *supra*). I am grateful to Mr. Hawkins, who kindly placed a copy of these notes at my disposal.

<sup>83</sup> The correctness of the placement is furthermore confirmed by the Leningrad capital, whose decorated right side reveals adjustment for a placement facing the naos.

<sup>84</sup> Belting, "Konstantinopol'skaja kapitel'," 154 note 4, states that the height (not counting the commencement of the colonnettes) is 27.0 cm., and explains the discrepancy between this and the height of the Leningrad capital (24.8 cm.) as the result of the modern repair of the abacus, which has broken off. As far as I can see, the repair has not altered the proportions of the capital; there must be an error in measurement. The measurement given here (25.0 cm.), furthermore, reveals an almost complete mutual concordance between the two capitals, and can thus only confirm the placing of the Leningrad capital in this context, in case there still exists any doubt about it.

<sup>85</sup> The corresponding measurement for the capital in Leningrad is 25.5 cm., or a difference of 1.5 cm. Belting explains this by the fact that the right-hand corner is missing on the capital in Kariye. The modest difference is due to the different positions of the capitals; the Leningrad capital has been placed on the corner overlooking the nave, whereas the other has been placed up against the wall, which is why the abacus on this side has only a very slight projection from the capital itself.

<sup>86</sup> Belting, "Konstantinopol'skaja kapitel'," 140.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 138.

colonnets had been mortised up into the capital with a piece of iron; this does not, however, seem entirely likely.

During G. Forsyth's excavation in 1957 small fragments of marble emerged from a hole in the Byzantine floor foundations in the north side of the apse. E. Hawkins succeeded in putting most of these fragments together to form a reef knot from the middle of a set of twin columns. Figure 26, a photograph taken by Hawkins in 1962, shows the assemblage with a provisional hanging of the marble knot in what may have been more or less the original position.<sup>88</sup> For this, see *infra*, p. 277.

c. *Corbel South of Hodegetria Panel* (fig. 30): This regular block, apart from the mutilated figure on the front, reveals no trace of serious damage. It is 20.5 cm. high (though the side facing the wall is somewhat less since the underside slopes a little) and 18.5 cm. wide. The plane of the front is slanting, with a difference of 5.1 cm. in the distance from the wall plane to the front, measured at the top and at the lower edge.

A half-figure saint was once represented on this sloping front. The surface of the figure has been completely hacked away and is only recognizable now as an outline. The figure's left arm was held in close to the body, whereas the right arm was held slightly away from it (the background plane can be seen between the upper arm and the body) and with the forearm almost horizontal, parallel to the lower edge of the corbel. The hands, held against the saint's breast, one on top of the other, clutched an object that may well have been a cross.<sup>89</sup>

Otherwise, the only articulation of the corbel is a smooth, simple molding at the top, *ca.* 2.0 cm. wide. The figure's head overlaps this and the top quarter of the halo has been cut off. The fact that the format of the figures does not respect that of the block but is carved in accordance with other proportions, thereby overlapping moldings and the like, is a characteristically recurring phenomenon that can be observed in all pieces of sculpture from the templon. However, the disproportion on this corbel is so glaring that it almost looks like a miscalculation.

Along the top is a faint, irregular depression, some 7.5 cm. long and 4.0 cm. wide, which indicates the base for the colonnettes. The depression is considerably less than the corresponding fitting in the capital above.

d. *Corbel North of Hodegetria Panel* (figs. 31, 32): Decorated, in accordance with its placement, on two sides, this corbel measures 20.0 cm. high and 19.5 cm. wide. The side view shows the depth of the block, 26.3 cm. at the top and 22.0 cm. at the bottom; the angle of the sloping frontal plane is thus somewhat less than in the case of the previous corbel. Carved on the front is a

<sup>88</sup> Belting, *ibid.*, 136, states that this fragment has now disappeared. Hawkins' photo shows only an experimental hanging, after which the fragment was taken down again and is now, together with one more, in the storeroom of Kariye Camii (figs. 114, 115).

<sup>89</sup> However, this is not immediately apparent from what has been preserved, as Belting would appear to claim (*ibid.*, 140).

half-figure saint with a halo and attribute. At the top is a smooth molding, 1.7 cm. high, overlapped by the saint's head and halo, which almost touches the upper edge of the block.

The figure on the front has been completely hacked away, but the posture corresponds broadly to that of the preceding figure, and the hands of the saint, which were held in front of the breast, probably grasped a lance or a sword, the diagonal course of which, up to the top right-hand corner, can still be observed.

In contrast to the front, the side facing the apse is well preserved and the decoration is complete (fig. 32). Apart from an even break at the bottom to the left that looks like a groove, the surface of the ornament has suffered only very slight damage, the object of which has apparently been merely to erase the shape of the cross in the leaf rosette.

Framed within the circumference of a circle is a *crux florida*. The ends of the cross arms, which are of equal length, divide symmetrically into large leaf lobes, which are bent back and meet around a leaf-shaped ornament, thereby filling the space between the arms of the cross. The lobes of these leaves are characterized by a single groove down the middle.<sup>90</sup> The corner areas outside the circle are filled by trilobate leaves.

The inside edge of the corbel, 4.0 cm. wide, is left undecorated. On the top, as in the case of the preceding corbel, is an irregular, oval depression, ca. 10.0 × 4.0 cm., indicating the point of attachment for the twin shafts.

e. *Corbel South of Christ Panel* (figs. 33, 34): This corbel is somewhat different in format from corbel d. The height is 20.5 cm., the width 21.8 cm. The depth, on the other hand, is slightly less than that of the preceding corbel: 24.5 cm. at the top edge, 21.0 cm. at the bottom edge. The frontal plane is also less slanted than those listed so far.

The front is badly damaged; apart from the mutilated figure, large chips have been knocked off the underside and the right-hand corner. Furthermore, a regular piece, ca. 7.5 cm. on the left side of the block, has been removed with tools.

With the exception of small areas around the elbows, the figure of a saint on the front can be recognized only by its outline; the hands were held in front of the breast and, as in the case of the pendant, grasped a sword or a lance. The halo overlaps the smooth molding (ca. 2.0 cm. high) and touches the upper edge of the corbel.

The decoration on the side facing the apse also coincides with that of the pendant, though it is less clearly organized (fig. 34). The rosette (with super-

<sup>90</sup> The type is well known from bosses on architraves and the like. A characteristic example dating from the eleventh or twelfth century, for example, is in St. Demetrius in Salonika: G. and M. Soteriou, 'Η βασιλική τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης, Βιβλιοθήκη της ἐν Ἀθηναῖς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας, 34 (Athens, 1952), II, pl. 56β. Cf. also the twelfth-century *patere* in the Museum at Torcello (R. Polacco, *Sculture paleocristiane e altomedioevali di Torcello* [Treviso, 1976], nos. 122, 123). A number of variants also appear in the mosaics in Kariye Camii, such as in the outer narthex, second bay (Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, II, pl. 331b), and in the inner narthex, arch between third and fourth bays (*ibid.*, pl. 332b).



ficial damage to the central cross) occupies virtually the whole of this side on the block.

As in the previous cases, there is an irregular depression in the top of the block, *ca.*  $10.0 \times 3.5$  cm., but this is considerably deeper than the others.

f. *Corbel North of Christ Panel* (fig. 35): This corbel measures 21.5 cm. high and 19.2 cm. wide, and corresponds to the corbel that is placed so as to face the south wall (fig. 30). Apart from the fact that a large piece of the bottom right-hand corner has been knocked off, this corbel is quite well preserved; the whole figure is in relatively high relief, since only the surface has been hacked away.

The figure is a repetition of that on its pendant: the right arm was held slightly away from the body and the hands were clasped over the breast, perhaps holding a cross. The entire left side of the halo is intact; it overlaps the smooth molding, which is 1.7 cm. high. Here, too, the upper part of the halo has been cut off; the saint's pate almost touches the upper edge of the corbel.

The oblong, irregular depression on the top in this case measures *ca.*  $8.5 \times 3.0$  cm.

We have here the outline of a templon program. The two principal icons, Christ on the north pillar and the Hodegetria on the south pillar, were crowned by canopies and framed by twin columns, evidently as an extension of the chancel screen. The four capitals on these columns had representations of the Evangelists, who faced the mosaic icons in pairs, and the four corbels carried representations of four saints. These in turn are grouped naturally in pairs, the two outermost corresponding to each other and the two corner corbels being pendants. The only possibility of identification here lies in the swords or lances carried by the saints on the corner corbels: these are military saints. Several of these are traditionally paired, as can be seen, for example, in the frescoes of the parecclesion.<sup>91</sup> The pair here may well have been SS. George and Demetrius; only military saints of the highest rank would have been appropriate in this context.

Although this cannot be taken as any more than suggestion, the military saints would seem to indicate that the program was rounded off with important saints possessing prophylactic qualities, placed here as protectors and guardians of Christ and the Virgin Mary. The two others probably held small crosses: they might well have been SS. Cosmas and Damian. As an addition to the four Evangelists above, two aspects of the Christian existence would thus be marked: the Christian *Philantropia* represented by two of the most prominent *anargyroi*, and the battle for Christ and the Christian faith by the two military saints.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>91</sup> South wall, eastern bay: SS. George and Demetrius, and SS. Florus and Laurus (*ibid.*, III, pl. 453; I, 249f.).

<sup>92</sup> But they might equally well be, for example, SS. Florus and Laurus, or SS. Sergius and Bacchus; both pairs appear in the mosaics and frescoes in Kariye Camii. Cf. SS. Florus and Laurus, nos. 160–61, *ibid.*, II, pl. 282d, and nos. 251–52, *ibid.*, III, pl. 435.

It has been assumed that these individual items of sculpture are parts of a coherent whole;<sup>93</sup> they mark what one might call the perimeter of the templon and describe its outline and general character.

However, Hans Buchwald has recently argued that the canopy over the Hodegetria mosaic was never executed with its present position and function in mind at all, but is a reused piece which, on the basis in particular of comparisons with the ornamentation on two capitals from Torcello, can be dated to the close of the eleventh century.<sup>94</sup> He finds the similarities so marked that they can best be explained, according to him, by an assumption that they were carved in the same workshop, if not by the same hands.<sup>95</sup>

Buchwald explains the present placement of the panel in Kariye Camii by suggesting that it was set up in the early twelfth century after the construction of the corner piers of the Second Comnenian church, but that it originally may have been carved for the First Comnenian church ("Phase 3") since the panel's measurements are not in accordance with its position. This fits well into Buchwald's chronology, since this part of the decoration in Kariye Camii can then be dated to the period when Domenico Selvo had a number of sculptures executed for San Marco, possibly even with the help of artists summoned to Venice from Constantinople.<sup>96</sup> Again he finds such marked similarities to the ornamentation in San Marco that he draws the conclusion that "the Kariye Camii panel was carved by the same workshop which also carried out much of the San Marco ornamentation."<sup>97</sup>

From here parallels are drawn to the cornices in Fethiye Camii's nave and dome (fig. 36), to ornaments in the north church of Zeyrek Camii (fig. 37), and also to the ornamentation on the eastern piers in Kalenderhane Camii (fig. 38), which according to Buchwald may be safely dated to the late eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century on the basis of similarities between the San Marco material and the panel in Kariye Camii.<sup>98</sup>

Belting recently rejected the conclusions reached by Buchwald and argued convincingly for a dating of the two apostle capitals and the canopy to ca. 1300.<sup>99</sup> There are grounds, however, for reexamining the stylistic and particularly the archeological facts in the present context.

Buchwald's inclusion of the canopy in his eleventh- and twelfth-century material is based on a meticulous analysis, especially of the recurring acanthus and lotus-palmette motifs. These are, however, stock-in-trade motifs that pass virtually unaltered through a number of periods and are consequently hard to place in a convincing chronological sequence. A glance at some of the suggested datings reveals that an analysis of the style of these motifs is in itself insuffi-

<sup>93</sup> Cf., for example, Grabar, *Sculptures*, II, 132.

<sup>94</sup> H. Buchwald, "The Carved Stone Ornament of the High Middle Ages in San Marco, Venice," *JÖBG*, 13 (1964), 156f.

<sup>95</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 158.

<sup>97</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 160.

<sup>99</sup> Belting, "Konstantinopol'skaja kapitel'."

cient to place them in their correct chronological context. The style of the ornamentation in Fethiye Camii is found by Buchwald to be in accordance with the assumed dating of the church to early in the second half of the eleventh century. However, this is not so certain, and more recently C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins have argued in favor of a date in the twelfth century, during the Late Comnenian period.<sup>100</sup>

The ornamentation discussed in Kalenderhane Camii fits into the scheme, provided a dating to the late eleventh or early twelfth century is accepted. Recent work has shown, however, that the church must be dated in its entirety to the late twelfth century.<sup>101</sup>

The sequence drawn up by Buchwald is, thus, far from dependable. If the ornamentation is regarded separately it very soon becomes evident that it cannot—at least as far as the Constantinopolitan material is concerned—be upheld. Despite the formal similarities to other canopies and icon frames, such as those often quoted in this connection in Hosios Lukas,<sup>102</sup> Nerezi,<sup>103</sup> Samari,<sup>104</sup> and Mistra,<sup>105</sup> no example has been preserved in Constantinople with the same formal characteristics, e.g., figure style, relationship between figure and frame and figure and ornamentation, etc., dating from before the Palaeologan period.

Not only the panel above the Hodegetria icon but also the two capitals and the corbels have in common a number of distinctive features that prove to be characteristic of that group of Palaeologan sculpture which has come to light so far and which distinguishes it from earlier sculpture.<sup>106</sup>

Some of these features make their appearance in the relationship between figure, frame, and background, where the contrasting of planes is treated in a new way. The halo breaks into and overlaps the ornamentation of the frames irrespective of angles or relief planes. Or, conversely, the frame cuts parts of figures whose hands, arms, or wings, for example, are covered by moldings or ornamental friezes. In other words, there is no longer a question of pictorial elements that are conceived as autonomous and then combined in such a fashion that figure and ornament "respect" each other in a balance that makes allowance for the functional spheres of the various parts. Figures no longer remain within the surface area allotted to them but break out and exceed it. In a few places this may produce such strikingly disproportionate results, such a pronounced negation of the surface, that it almost creates the impression of incompetent and slovenly craftsmanship.

<sup>100</sup> "Report on Field Work in Istanbul and Cyprus, 1962–1963," *DOP*, 18 (1964) (hereafter Mango and Hawkins, "Report on Field Work"), 329. The authors are unable to accept H. Hallensleben's argumentation for a mid-eleventh-century date (in *IstMitt*, 13–14 [1963–64], 128 ff.).

<sup>101</sup> C. L. Striker and Y. D. Kuban, "Work at Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul. Third and Fourth Preliminary Reports," *DOP*, 25 (1971), 251 ff.

<sup>102</sup> Grabar, *Sculptures*, II, pl. xix.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. LXXVII. Cf. reconstruction of the whole templon in V. Lasareff, "Trois fragments d'épistyles peintes et le templon byzantin," *Δελτ. Χριστ. Αρχ. Έτ.*, Ser. 4, 4 (1964–65 [1966]), fig. 10.

<sup>104</sup> Grabar, *Sculptures*, II, pl. LXXIIa, b.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. CXXXV; cf. Lasareff, *op. cit.*, figs. 16–18.

<sup>106</sup> H. Belting has made a detailed analysis of these characteristics, in "Zur Skulptur aus der Zeit um 1300 in Konstantinopel," *MünchJb*, Ser. 3, 23 (1972) (hereafter Belting, "Zur Skulptur"), 63 ff.; and *idem*, "Konstantinopel'skaja kapitel'," *passim*. Also Ø. Hjort, "A Fragment of Early Palaeologan Sculpture in Istanbul," *Acta IRNorv*, 6 (1975), 107 ff.

Even when the acanthus and lotus-and-palmette ornamentation is regarded separately, it appears that sufficient differences exist between the Venetian and Constantinopolitan material to indicate different datings. In particular, a comparison between the ornamentation on the canopy in Kariye Camii and the capital in Torcello, which was the specific reason for Buchwald's conclusion that both sculptures came from the same workshop, reveals, on closer examination, that the Torcello capitals manifest a sharpness and hardness in their details that seems quite mechanical compared with the softer modeling in Kariye Camii. In point of fact this observation can be extended to cover a large amount of the contemporary ornamentation in Constantinople: a general softness combined with something which hints at a lack of precision in completing a detail, unevennesses, traces of tool marks, etc., which somehow point away from the "ruler-and-compasses" character that dominates the Torcello capitals. This is apparent not only from a direct comparison with the panel in Kariye Camii, but also with, for example, the above-mentioned sculptures in Kalenderhane Camii (fig. 38), Zeyrek Camii (fig. 37), or Fethiye Camii (fig. 36).

Important to Buchwald's argumentation was the fact that the canopy was too long for its present position, since its northern edge protruded from the wall.<sup>107</sup> He took this to be supporting evidence for the assumption that the panel was not carved for this position but rather for the ornamentation of an earlier phase of the construction.<sup>108</sup>

With this viewpoint he neglected to take into consideration the arrangement as a whole and to see the canopy as an integrated part of a larger context—it has not been recognized as a part of the templon. That it protrudes somewhat from the wall is not in itself any proof that it originally belonged elsewhere. The eleventh-century parallel mentioned by Buchwald, in the Theotokos in Hosios Lukas, reveals exactly the same situation. The panel protrudes slightly from the wall, but the inconvenient edge at the bottom is masked by a double capital and the outermost of the twin columns just conceals the corner of the wall.<sup>109</sup> Small displacements in relation to the solid mass of wall behind can also be seen elsewhere (cf., for example, the templon in Samari<sup>110</sup> or that in the Metropol in Mistra<sup>111</sup>). Figure 26 shows quite clearly that this would also be the case if a capital of the size of those preserved were placed in the empty space to the left of the Hodegetria panel. At all events there is no question of any discrepancy between wall and decoration, as the latter relates to the overall program.

Placed in its present position above the Hodegetria icon, the canopy has evidently been tampered with. It has been brutally trimmed into shape at the

<sup>107</sup> *Op. cit.*, 157.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 158.

<sup>109</sup> The situation is quite clear in the reproduction in Grabar, *Sculptures*, II, pl. XIXa. Belting has also drawn attention to this (cf. "Konstantinopol'skaja kapitel'," 143). The central section of the iconostasis in Daphni provides a good idea of how the original scheme as a whole must have looked in Kariye Camii. Cf. Lasareff, *op. cit.*, fig. 8 (reconstruction after Orlandos).

<sup>110</sup> Grabar, *Sculptures*, II, pl. LXXIIa.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, cxxxva, though this reproduction is not very well suited to demonstrate the point.

bottom. The leaves in this frieze are a good deal flatter than those in the arch around the central panel. Its measurements vary somewhat, but the average height is *ca.* 16.0 cm. Since less than half the horizontal frieze is missing at the bottom, it is probably necessary to add about 5.0 cm., which would give the whole canopy an original height of 116 cm. or more.

Other, later damage includes two strong iron cramps set through the acanthus frieze at the bottom. Furthermore, an iron cramp has been inserted beside the egg-and-dart frieze that forms the inner part of the framing of the lunette containing the Christ medallion, to the left of Christ's head and on the same level.

The panel has obviously been reset, but nothing definite can be said as to when this took place. Turkish restoration work was carried out early in the nineteenth century. Pictures dating from the beginning of the present century show that the Hodegetria icon could be concealed behind a two-leaved wooden panel, the frame of which at the top fits the removed section at the bottom of the canopy remarkably well.<sup>112</sup>

One suspects that the trimming of the panel at the bottom and the crude resetting with iron cramps must be attributed to the Turkish restorations at the beginning of the nineteenth century; it was at this time that the marble revetments both in the apse and around the Hodegetria panel were reset.<sup>113</sup>

During work on the marble revetment Ernest Hawkins endeavored to ascertain whether the corbels were insertions in the twelfth-century masonry. On account of the adjacent marbles this could not be done. Had it been possible to see whether the corbels had been inserted into the masonry of the pillars, it would have provided a good indication that they belonged to the fourteenth century. It seems, however, that this can be determined in another way.

The walls in the naos have suffered considerable displacements; both they and the north and south pillars adjoining the apse lean outward at an angle, a fact which can also be observed in photographs (cf. fig. 26). Theodore Metochites allowed for this by having the new marble revetment reset plumb.

This is also reflected in the setting of the sculptures: the canopy protrudes 9.0 cm. from the wall at the top, whereas the corresponding measurement for the corbel is only 3.5 cm. The difference of 5.5 cm. reestablishes the vertical plane: the irregularity of the pillar is masked by the templon arrangement, the twin columns of which were vertical and whose corbels, as pairs, may be said to be level. This they can only be if they are insertions.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>112</sup> Šmit, *op. cit.* (note 7 *supra*), II, pl. LXXVII; A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople* (London, 1912), pl. LXXXVI. During restoration work in the 1950s no traces of fastenings were observed for the corresponding canopy that must at one time have existed above the Christ mosaic on the north pillar; the marble panels now placed there were mounted during restoration to cover the exposed brickwork.

<sup>113</sup> This is also Ernest Hawkins' opinion. He observes, moreover, in the aforementioned notes, that the iron cramps "are one of the crudest fixings I have ever seen and must certainly be of comparatively recent date."

<sup>114</sup> Hawkins observes in his notes: "If the corbels are level, as pairs, on each side then they must be insertions of the later period because the outward displacement of the 12th century would have them out of level, which I believe them not to be." In this connection it can be added that, despite Belting's reservation (in "Konstantinopol'skaja kapitel'," 140), there would appear to be no reason to doubt that the corbels and the capitals belong together.

Without providing definitive proof, it may be stated that the archeological facts in conjunction with those pertaining to the history of the building strengthen rather than weaken a dating of the canopy panel to the rebuilding phase initiated by Metochites. Considered in conjunction with the stylistic analysis there can no longer be any doubt about this dating. It must surely be regarded as one of the most important sculptures of the Palaeologan period that has come down to us.

### 3. *Ornamentation*

Preserved in the naos are large parts of the carved marble cornice which terminates the marble revetment of the walls at the top (fig. 39). This cornice is particularly well preserved on the north wall and in the apse, but has now been reestablished as a whole by the insertion of modern pieces that match the fragments.<sup>115</sup>

The lotus-and-palmette motif of the cornice is one of the well-known stock-in-trade motifs that appear in abundance distributed over several centuries. In this case the motif appears in a very flat, two-dimensional version over a base of dentils. The execution is very mechanical and dry: the palmette is flattened out across its width and there is no depth in the sunken parts around the veins. A sense of the original structure of the palmette has been replaced by a purely abstract, decorative arrangement. No underdrilling has been carried out around the tips of the leaves either, as is the case, for example, on the templon canopy.

In this connection, however, the frieze is important, since it can be dated with certainty to "Phase 4" of the conjectured building phases, namely, to the beginning of the twelfth century.<sup>116</sup> It must have been set up during the reconstruction of the naos and apse with the new, solid corner pillars.

Nonetheless, it is doubtful that the relationship between the marble revetment and the cornice is the same as the original. As I already mentioned, the walls are somewhat deformed by the pressure and have been pushed outward, whereas the marble revetment is vertical. The resulting space between the wall and the revetment has been filled by a band of inlaid marble inserted between the revetment and the cornice. On the basis of observations made during restoration work, Ernest Hawkins believes that the entire marble revetment was set up under Metochites' supervision and that a facing of this kind did not exist in the Comnenian building, whose walls below the level of the cornice are more likely to have been covered with painted plaster.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>115</sup> The cornice is the only item of sculpture in the church that I have not had an opportunity to examine at close quarters.

<sup>116</sup> Oates, "Summary Report," 227.

<sup>117</sup> Hawkins notes: "It must be observed that the inlay slopes back to meet the base of the cornice which would otherwise have been partly buried. The fact is that the cornice was made in such a manner that it is evident that it was not intended to top marble revetments; the projection is far too shallow." Oates, on the other hand, believes that the masonry footings upon which the revetments rest were probably inserted during "Phase 4," and that a few finds of fragments of skirtings, likewise of bull's nose and bead-and-reel moldings similar to the present panel frames, originate from this period: "Summary Report," 228.

For the sake of completeness it must be mentioned that a fragment of a frieze with a lotus-and-palmette motif, which would appear to be almost entirely similar to that on the cornice in the naos, is to be found in the little room to the west of the passage that connects the naos to the parecclesion. This room, which now functions as the church's storeroom for sculptural fragments and other items, contains in its southwest corner preserved parts of a wall identified by Oates as "Phase 3"; it is on this that the frieze is located.<sup>118</sup>

It is possible that these approximately identical versions of the motif represent the two phases, 3 and 4, and that the modest differences mutually express the chronological distance between them: "Phase 3" took place toward the close of the eleventh century (1077–81, to be exact) and "Phase 4" at the beginning of the twelfth. But it is quite conceivable that parts of a frieze from "Phase 3" now form part of the Late Comnenian frieze in the apse and nave.<sup>119</sup>

#### B. NARTHICES

##### 1. *Inner Narthex: Lintel over Doorway to Bay Seven of Outer Narthex* (fig. 40)

Over the doorway's marble frame is a small lintel, perhaps a reused cornice. The length is 139.0 cm., the height 9.3 cm., and the maximum depth 21.3 cm. It has been set into the side walls so as to protrude 8.3 cm. from the surface of the wall.

The ornament is the usual lotus-palmette type, though the palmette differs somewhat in design from those described so far. The number of radiating leaves is reduced; the central leaf is divided by a cleft, while the two remaining leaves are turned, scroll-like, back toward the base. The way the ornament is terminated at either end of the lintel differs, being slightly more elaborate at the western end. The design of the frieze has parallels in the Pantokrator, in the north church, where the leaf ornamentation is more slender and upright (fig. 37), and in Fethiye Camii, namely the cornice under the main dome in the main church (fig. 36). These would appear to confirm a dating of the lintel to the Comnenian period, probably the first half of the twelfth century.<sup>120</sup>

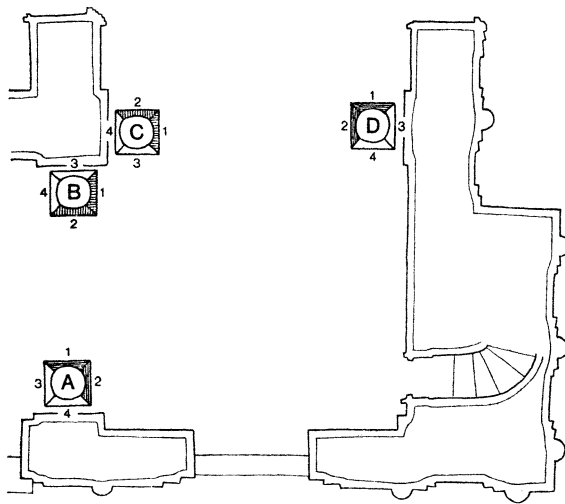
##### 2. *Outer Narthex: Angel Capitals* (figs. 41–53, C, D)

After the building was completed in 1320, a deformation of the west wall of the outer narthex occurred, causing it to be pressed outward, which also seriously affected the structure of bay six. The results can be seen clearly, for example, in Tomb E in the fifth bay, which was constructed after these problems arose. Here the arch above the tomb had to be reinforced by a stone voussoir which

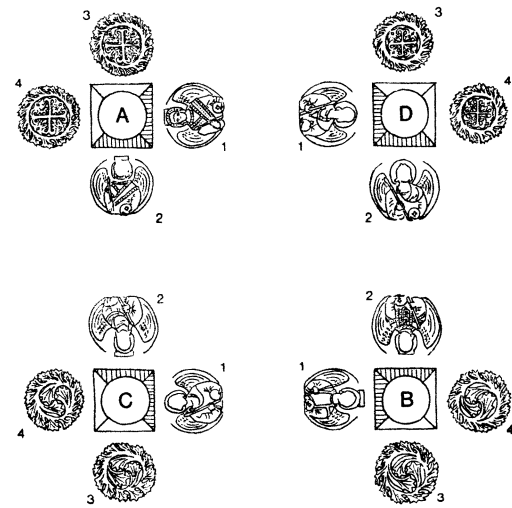
<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 226 f.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. Buchwald, *op. cit.*, 159, who believes that the twelfth-century supplementary fragments were executed in imitation of the slightly earlier version of the motif.

<sup>120</sup> The Pantokrator's north church was built before 1136 by John II; cf. A. H. S. Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul," *DOP*, 17 (1963) (hereafter Megaw, "Notes"), 335 ff. For Fethiye Camii, see Mango and Hawkins, "Report on Field Work," 322 ff.



C. The Angel Capitals, Present Location in Outer Narthex, Bay 6



D. The Angel Capitals, Suggested Original Placing, Showing Interrelation of Sides

was then gessoed, pasted, and painted. Apart from the portrait panel on the rear wall of the arcosolium the reveals contain two full-length portraits of a man and a woman dressed as a monk and a nun.<sup>121</sup> The representation of the man is entirely vertical, although the wall is not. The construction of the stone voussoir and the placement of the frescoes in the reveals give us, in other words, a *terminus ante quem* for the deformations in the structure of the building; unfortunately, the tomb cannot be dated with complete certainty.

However, it must be contemporary with the setting up of arches with corresponding columns and capitals, which were also completed as extra support for the corners in the sixth bay, the southwesternmost bay (fig. C). In the south wall near the corner is a stairway that now leads up to the minaret. There was no doubt originally a belfry above this corner bay, to which the stairs led right up at the time. This belfry—or its collapse—could have caused the extra pressure which resulted in the deformation of the masonry in this part of the church.<sup>122</sup>

The arches inserted under the already existing reinforcing ribs are considerably lower and narrower than the originals, and contribute to isolating the corner bay from the remaining construction in the outer narthex;<sup>123</sup> their provisional character is revealed at once by the design and the masonry (fig. 41). The situation as a whole is a good illustration of the kind of alterations and amendments that followed the completion of the building *ca.* 1320. The columns are made up of jumbled elements: A, C, and D are conglomerate while B is granite, and their lengths vary.<sup>124</sup>

<sup>121</sup> Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 280 ff.

<sup>122</sup> I am indebted to Ernest Hawkins for comments on these problems.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. Underwood, *Kariye Camii*, II, pl. 11.

<sup>124</sup> Nomenclature and order in the following description are, in order to avoid unnecessary confusion, in accordance with the article quoted in the following note.



Despite the improvised nature of the arrangement it is nonetheless clear that the four capitals belong together. Each capital has busts of angels on two adjacent sides, while the remaining sides are decorated with a circular or verticil leaf ornament. Their natural placement would be in a four-column church with the four angels facing the naos (fig. D).<sup>125</sup>

The capitals have an exceptionally solid abacus and steeply beveled sides that stress the inverted pyramidal form. The beveled sides are somewhat concave and are decorated either by *clipei* enclosing the angel busts or by the leaf ornaments. They appear in two versions: a wreath of leaves enclosing a whorl of three leaves, and an ornament in the form of a cross whose arms divide at the ends and develop into acanthus leaves. The block of the capital rests upon a fairly pronounced base molding; in two cases this has been carved in at the bottom.

Throughout, the work may be termed somewhat crude and unfinished. The length of the sides of the abacus varies within the individual capital up to 1.5 cm., and the thickness of the base molding likewise varies. The measurements in the table given below apply, therefore, to the prominent side of each capital in its present placement, and allowances should be made for minor deviations.

	A	B	C	D
Full height of capital	55.0 cm.	56.0 cm.	53.5 cm.	48.0 cm.
Full width of capital	73.0	72.0	71.5	70.3
Circumference of capital				
base moldings	126.0*	129.0	125.5	127.5*
Height of angels, including haloes	35.0	31.0	32.0	32.0
Approximate diameter of leaf wreaths	38.0	38.5	38.5	35.5

\*Capitals A and D have been carved at the bottom, either to make them fit the shaft of the column or to fasten points for iron bands (as can be seen on the capitals at the entrance to the parecclesion).

The deviations given suggest greater differences than actually exist. If, for example, we convert the circumferences at the bases of the capitals to radii (for A, B, C, and D, 20.0, 20.5, 19.97, and 20.29 cm. respectively), it becomes obvious that they were originally executed with a view to crowning a given set of columns.

Two pairs of the angels wear a chlamys, while the other two wear a *loros*. The leaf ornament, as mentioned above, also appears in two versions. However, the ornamentation does not follow the angels' types: capital A has *loros*-angels

<sup>125</sup> A reconstruction has been convincingly put forward by H. Belting, who argues for a dating to ca. 1080 and relates the capitals to the first Comnenian church: "Eine Gruppe Konstantinopler Reliefs aus dem 11. Jahrhundert," *Pantheon*, 30,4 (1972), 263 ff. The capitals were thought to be Palaeologan by S. Bettini (*La scultura bizantina*, II [Florence, 1944], 48, illus. on pp. 51 [capital B2] and 53 [D4]).

combined with an acanthus cross ornament, capital B has *loros*-angels and a leaf whorl, capital C has chlamys-angels and a leaf whorl, while capital D combines chlamys-angels with the acanthus cross ornament.

There are also individual deviations within the program, especially regarding the execution of the costumes. The brief description of the individual sides given below will therefore prove useful, since it has been possible to supplement the angels with fragments now in the Archaeological Museum.

### 3. *Capital A*

*Side 1* (fig. 42; cf. program, fig. C): The angel is placed within a circular frame that determines the form of the upper part of the body and the position of the wings. The *loros* has a series of deep drill holes running along the middle and the borders of the bands. The neckline is also marked with drill holes of this type, and they appear again (but only in the case of this angel) on the halo, forming a close wreath around the angel's head.

The treatment of the drapery suggests a thick, soft material that lies in deep folds without adhering to any particular system. The angel's right hand held a staff, part of which is now broken off, and the left hand held a *sphaira* with a cross. The arms are pressed close to the sides, and the artist has clearly experienced considerable difficulty in establishing the relationship and proportions of the limbs and the body; this is a recurrent feature, and the solution shows that a natural proportioning of the upper part of the body and the arms has been severely restricted by the placement of the figure within a *clipeus*.

In general, the representation is well preserved; the staff has been hacked away, the edge of the angel's right wing is somewhat damaged, and the right hand has been destroyed. Broadly speaking, this represents the extent and nature of the damage to the other angels.

The face of this angel is the only one of the eight angels on the capitals to have been almost wholly preserved. The left side of the lower part of the face is missing and the tip of the nose has been knocked off, but these blemishes do not appreciably reduce the impression of the face as a whole. The head was originally knocked off but was found during restoration work by Ernest Hawkins, who, as there was no doubt that it belonged to this figure, mounted it in its original position.

The head is characterized by the full, almost chubby lower part of the face and the protruding eyes. The brow and eyebrows are emphasized and merge straight into the root of the nose. Each eyeball is surrounded by two clearly formed folds of skin. The pupil is indicated by a drill hole. The tear duct of the left eye has been indicated. The cheeks are round and plump, but the artist has been careful to mark the transition to the wings of the nose and the mouth, which has not been preserved here. The hair is smoothed back under a diadem and falls in heavy curls down toward the shoulders.

The details of the face have been executed with relative precision, and the treatment of the surface is sober, though not summary; emphasis has been

placed on achieving a clear form that could be read by the beholder at a given distance.

*Side 2* (fig. 43): The angel and the *clipeus* follow the prescribed pattern exactly. The right hand has been knocked off completely, but a mark on the base molding of the capital indicates the length of the staff. In this case the costume is a slightly different version. The thick, soft material forms puffy folds in an almost zigzag pattern. But the neckline is not flounced as in the case of the preceding angel. The bands of the *loros* are decorated with drill holes as before, and in this case also with a beautifully executed rinceau in low relief.

*Sides 3 and 4* (4 is the west side, facing the wall) (fig. 44): Both sides are decorated with an acanthus cross in a verticil of leaves. The ends of the arms of the cross split into lobes that curl back into the spaces within the arms, where they meet in pairs to form a quinate acanthus leaf.

#### 4. Capital B

*Side 1* (fig. 45): The most noticeable deviation from the program outlined above is a different concept of the *loros*. The use of drill holes is reduced; they appear only along the neckline. Indicated by means of incised lines on the *loros* is an embroidered pattern consisting of lilies surrounded by wavy lines. The soft, cushionlike folds of the drapery are replaced here by a greater degree of sharpness and precision in the carving, and likewise a greater variation in the modeling, corresponding to the movements of the body beneath the material. The proportions are more confidently executed and the surface treatment is more finished.

*Side 2* (fig. 46): This is one of the best preserved sides. The head has been hacked off on one plane, but parts of the hair can still be seen. The hand holding the staff has likewise been preserved. The volume of the body is lumpy and formless in execution; the proportions of the arms, for example, are meaningless, and there is no clear indication of the shoulders. But the *loros* is once again very richly elaborated, and the extensive use of drill holes on the neckline, on the crossing bands on the upper arms, and on the middle section of the *loros* all contribute to the visual effect. The ornament on the *loros* consists of three interwoven bands.

*Sides 3 and 4* (fig. 47): The decoration here is of another type. The central field of the verticil of leaves is taken up by three extended leaves forming a whorl.<sup>126</sup>

#### 5. Capital C

*Side 1* (fig. 48): Here the angel wears a chlamys, but otherwise the representation conforms with the others, though the execution is somewhat more summary. The *clipeus* is vaguely indicated and hardly emerges from the background. The halo is uneven, the shape apparently following the way the hair is set. The chlamys is fastened on the right shoulder with an open knot, almost

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 8, is not capital A4, as indicated in the caption, but B4.

like a fibula; it is rather flatly modeled, but there is a striking difference in the treatment of the drapery on the right and left arms. The costume falls over the right arm in soft, puffy folds, forming a roughly zigzag pattern, while the drapery on the left arm lies like a system of juxtaposed V-folds in a flat, abstract arrangement that here almost has the effect of a breach of style. The *sphaira* held in the left hand has no cross.

*Side 2* (fig. 49): This side has damage of the usual kind: the right hand and the staff have been hacked away, likewise the *sphaira* in the left hand. The proportions of the body differ greatly from the representation on Side 1. The upper part of the body is considerably smaller and more slender in proportion to the head, which was originally on a long and slender neck. The treatment of the drapery is summary and general; on the right arm and on the cape over the left shoulder the material lies in deep, close folds. The chlamys was fastened on the right shoulder with a very small buckle, perhaps in the shape of a ring.

*Sides 3 and 4* (fig. 50): As on capital B the decorations here are in the form of a whorl of leaves. On Side 3 (the west side) there is a pronounced diagonal vein in the marble which, among other things, leaves clear reddish brown or rust colored (perhaps actually ferruginous) stripes in the middle of the verticil of leaves.

#### 6. Capital D

*Side 1* (fig. 51): As on the preceding capital the angels wear a chlamys. On this side the almost circular outline of the body can again be noted; there is an unreasonable discrepancy between the proportions of the angel's thin neck and large, softly rounded shoulders. The treatment of the drapery is of the usual kind. The chlamys is fastened on the right shoulder with a little ring. The only deviation from the norm is the little cross placed on the top of the *sphaira* in the angel's left hand.

*Side 2* (fig. 52): The treatment of the drapery is almost identical to that of Side 1. The chlamys is fastened with a little buckle. Sides 1 and 2 of this capital are the only ones where the angels' hands have been preserved completely intact.

*Sides 3 and 4* (fig. 53): As on Capital A, these two sides are decorated with an acanthus cross ornament in a verticil of leaves. The execution, however, is a little more delicate: the cross does not fill the central panel completely, but is a self-contained ornament whose only points of contact with the verticil of leaves surrounding it is at the tips of the leaves in the diagonals.

#### 7. Fragments

At the Archaeological Museum (formerly in the Ayasofya Museum) there are now a few small finds made during the restoration work in Kariye Camii. Of interest in this connection are four small fragments of heads of the same proportions and material—Proconnesian marble, greyish with blue veins—as the heads of the angels on the capitals. These four fragments, which belong

together, were found in the outer narthex.<sup>127</sup> They were catalogued in the Ayasofya Museum and marked on the reverse with the word "Kariye" and the numbers 580, 581, 582, and 584 (in the Archaeological Museum nos. 71.139, 71.143, 71.141, and 71.140, respectively).

a. *Kariye 580* (fig. 54a): This fragment comprises more than a third of a face. The fractured surfaces at the top have eliminated the calotte and the hair down to the brow, whereas at the bottom the break goes diagonally through the left eye and over the nose to the right cheek.

Completely preserved is the whole right eye and its surroundings, revealing the same characteristics as those manifested on the *loros*-angel on Capital A, Side 1. The almond-shaped eye is slanted; the pupil is a drill hole placed slightly askew, which helps to give it the squint that is a conspicuous feature of the *loros*-angel.

The execution is precise but without exaggerated detail. Emphasis is placed on the dominant features: the bridge of the nose is sharp and straight with a slight contraction at the base of the nose that gives a suggestion of a wrinkle. The eyeball is enclosed within the eyelid and a fold of skin; there is no tear duct. Of the left eye, only a tiny piece beside the nose and the edge of the pupil are preserved. It seems, however, as though the pupil was turned slightly more to the front. The ear is placed at right angles to the head and has been bored out with a drill that has left a faint groove on the surface of the cheekbone. The curly locks of hair were tucked behind the ear, wholly in accordance with the corresponding preserved parts of the capitals.

The face has been built up of sharp, precise planes that stand out clearly against one another. The relations between the various parts, such as between the eye and its surroundings and the cheek, have been accurately observed and executed confidently. The cheek is full and round. Apart from the major features a few details have been included that serve to break the otherwise masklike monotony. Note, for example, the little fold of skin in the corner of the eye between the eyebrow and the eyelid. On the other hand, the transition from the area around the eye to the brow and ear has been partly misunderstood.

Height 7.95 cm., width 7.45 cm., depth 3.0 cm.

b. *Kariye 581* (fig. 54b): This fragment supplements the preceding one in a fortunate manner, since the whole of the lower part of the face has been preserved including all of the left cheek and ear and the entire area below the nose. The cheeks are full and round, here perhaps slightly more "flabby." The chin is prominent with a deep and pronounced cleft between the chin and the lower lip. The small, narrow mouth has a faint suggestion of an "archaic" smile (but the upper lip lies over the lower lip at the corners of the mouth). Here again the ears are of the "jug-handle" type, but it would not seem that a drill was used to model the auditory duct. A fragment of the neck has been preserved.

<sup>127</sup> According to information received from Ernest Hawkins.

Height 5.85 cm., width 7.36 cm., depth 3.0 cm.

c. *Kariye 582* (fig. 54c): This fragment also shows the lower part of a face. But in this case all that has been preserved is the chin, the left cheek, three-quarters of the mouth, and a little of the neck. The chin is plumply modeled, and again there is a pronounced cleft between the chin and the mouth. The face has probably created the impression of being somewhat rounder than no. 581; and the distance between the point of the chin and the mouth is not quite so great. The lips are slightly farther apart and the corners of the mouth turn slightly downward.

Height 4.5 cm., width 4.7 cm., depth 2.4 cm.

d. *Kariye 584* (fig. 54d): The whole area around the mouth and chin from the tip of the nose to the beginning of the neck has been preserved. The chin is full and rounded and merges directly into the cheek. The transition between the chin and the mouth is indicated merely as a coherent depression that separates the lips from the fleshy lower part of the face. The faintly parted lips suggest, as in the case of no. 581, an "archaic" smile.

Height 4.1 cm., width 4.5 cm., depth 1.85 cm.

The fractured surfaces of the fragments on the reverse are relatively clear and sharp. By comparing them with the capitals *in situ* it was clear that two of the fragments could unquestionably be placed in their original positions; the positions of the remaining two could be determined with a reasonable degree of certainty.<sup>128</sup> Their original positions were, or appear in all likelihood to have been, as follows:

No. 582 belongs to the *loros*-angel on Capital B, Side 1, i.e., the south side.

No. 581 belongs to the same capital, but to the angel on Side 2, i.e., its west side. The fractured surfaces fit exactly, and on the reverse of the fragment there is a bluish shadow corresponding to a similar shadow on the capital.

No. 580 belongs in all likelihood to Capital B, Side 1, and is thus part of the same face as no. 582. The diagonal fractured surfaces on both fragments do not fit. What is missing between them is a narrow piece comprising the left eye, the tip of the nose, and the right side of the mouth.

No. 584 cannot be placed with the same degree of certainty as the others; it probably belonged to Capital C, Side 1, i.e., the south side. The fractured surfaces do not provide any definitive proof, but there is a reasonable degree of similarity with regard to the structure and color of the marble.

Hans Belting has convincingly demonstrated the original functions of the four capitals and discussed their dating in detail.<sup>129</sup> Taking as his starting point the hypothesis that the capitals date from the first Comnenian church of ca. 1080 (i.e., Oates's "Phase 3"), which was precisely a four-column church, he endeavors to find stylistic confirmation for his dating within this period.

<sup>128</sup> I am grateful to the late Bay Feridun Dirimtekin of the Ayasofya Museum for permission to try the fragments on the spot.

<sup>129</sup> "Eine Gruppe," 266f.

Such proof is to be found, according to Belting, in the serpentine medallion bearing a representation of the Virgin Orans in the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>130</sup> With its inscription, in which the Emperor Nicephorus Botaniates is mentioned, it can be dated with certainty to the same years as the four-column church (1078–81), and provides a starting point for a grouping of works which are stylistically related. Of these the most notable, and the one truly convincing parallel, is the Alexander relief on the north façade of San Marco in Venice.<sup>131</sup> There can be no doubt that this stems from the same workshop as the capitals in Kariye Camii.<sup>132</sup> But the Alexander relief has not been dated with certainty and is mentioned in this context solely on account of its similarity to the capitals.

In general, there is little similarity between the drapery style on the angel figures of the capitals and that which characterizes the key monument, the serpentine medallion in the Victoria and Albert Museum, whose dating functions as a confirmation of the hypothesis concerning the relation of the capitals to the "Phase 3" church. There are a few features, such as the angel on Capital B, Side 1, and the flat abstract relief on the left arm of the angel on Capital C, Side 1, that can be said to have parallels on the serpentine medallion, but as a whole the heavy, clumsy, and woolly character of the capitals differs considerably from the drapery style of the medallion, and no entirely convincing parallel is presented by the type of face, either.

Inclusion of the Hodegetria relief in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul<sup>133</sup> provides a broader basis for comparison: on this relief we find once more the same characteristic rows of drill holes whose decorativeness characterizes to such a marked degree the overall effect of the *loros*-angels on Capitals A and B and on the Alexander relief in Venice.

Although the serpentine medallion is not completely convincing as a stylistic confirmation of the date proposed, i.e., ca. 1080, there can be no doubt that the capitals in Kariye Camii, together with other pieces in the "Löchenreihe"-group which Belting has assembled, belong chronologically to the close of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth. This is a less specific dating which has also recently been proposed by André Grabar.<sup>134</sup> Although it is not possible to conclude that the capitals definitely stem from the "Phase 3" church, it may be stated that this remains a possibility within the bounds of a more general dating.

However, if the capitals originate from Kariye Camii's "Phase 3" it is surprising that they should not have been used until a reconstruction campaign initiated *after* 1320. It hardly seems credible that such important and

<sup>130</sup> No. A 1. 1927; cf. D. Talbot Rice and M. Hirmer, *Kunst aus Byzanz* (Munich, 1959), pl. 150; Belting, "Eine Gruppe," 266 and fig. 9.

<sup>131</sup> O. Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice* (Washington, D.C., 1960), 111f. and fig. 33; Belting, "Eine Gruppe," 266f.

<sup>132</sup> "Die Platte könnte vom gleichen Meister stammen wie der Engel A 1": Belting, "Eine Gruppe," 267.

<sup>133</sup> Talbot Rice and Hirmer, *op. cit.*, pl. 151; Belting, "Eine Gruppe," fig. 10.

<sup>134</sup> *Sculptures*, II, 40.

valuable architectural sections should merely have been left lying around in the church or on its grounds since the beginning of the twelfth century. In other words, it seems just as likely that the capitals may have come from another church of the same period.

#### C. CAPITALS, ENTRANCE TO PARECCLESION

The parecclesion and the two narthices are additions made to the then existing structure under Theodore Metochites. The parecclesion was added on to the south side of the church (fig. A). At the eastern end of the parecclesion there is access to the diaconicon, as well as from the second bay to the nave along a narrow corridor in the nave's south wall. The main entrance to the parecclesion, however, is from the west; here it is partially closed off from the outer narthex by a triple arcade supported by two columns (fig. 55).

These columns are very disparate, with regard to both height and material, but this discrepancy is unlikely to have been so noticeable originally, since the parecclesion was more insulated from the outer narthex than it appears at first sight today.<sup>135</sup>

One can form a certain idea of the original appearance of this partition wall, since grooves for the screens can still be seen (fig. 56).<sup>136</sup> The side intercolumniations were presumably closed up to the height of the abacus and the cornice that runs the whole way around the walls of the parecclesion. These screens were divided into sections at the bottom—probably at a height corresponding to the base zone of the frescoes—by closed slabs, and above these by windows.<sup>137</sup> In the middle intercolumniation a door sill was laid on the floor and a pair of tall, narrow doors was probably placed between the columns.

The northern column is of Proconnesian marble, while the southern is verd antique. They are placed on strongly profiled bases which in turn rest on slabs of unequal size let into the floor. The verd antique column is somewhat shorter than the other because the springing level of the arch above is lower than on the opposite side. The arch above was broken.

Bronze cuffs were mounted at the bottom and at the top to strengthen the columns. The top cuff in both cases serves to mask the transition to the over-size capitals, which have been trimmed at the bottom. Solid impost blocks are inserted between the capital and the springing of the arch. The blocks are profiled and at the bottom have a base outline corresponding to those of the capitals. The large impost blocks are unlikely to have belonged originally to the capitals but have been executed for the present location. Despite obvious efforts to adapt them to the capitals they fit badly and have been filled out with mortar to mask unevennesses and cracks. The mortar is pointed and incised to give the impression of completion and exact fitting.

<sup>135</sup> Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 21; and verbal information from Ernest Hawkins.

<sup>136</sup> These appeared during restoration work when the wall which had closed off the west side of the parecclesion up to the height of the capitals was removed. Cf. Van Millingen, *op. cit.* (note 112 *supra*), pl. LXXXIX.

<sup>137</sup> Information from Ernest Hawkins.



The capitals are both of the well-known Corinthian type (figs. 57–60). Four strongly whorled leaves with large tips turned outward in the middle of the sides of the capitals (now broken off with the exception of the tip of one leaf on each) surround the capital at the bottom. Growing up behind this wreath are the bracteoles, spreading out over the corners where the midrib, extending upward, touches the rudimentary helices in the corners. The profiling of the abaci is relatively light; the centers of the sides are taken up by a solid boss. The area immediately below these bosses is filled with a leaf ornament which at one point (the east side of the northern capital) almost has the form of a clover leaf (fig. 57).

The abaci are badly damaged in several places and are provisionally repaired with mortar. The same applies to a few of the bosses; one of them has been repaired with wood.

The impost blocks and the capitals have been painted. The impost blocks had a yellow rinceau on a blue background; traces of the paint can still be seen. The colors correspond largely to the rinceau in the arches, but the yellow on the impost blocks is somewhat darker, more ochre. The acanthus leaves of the capitals were yellow on a blue ground. This painting has also masked the repairs on the bad join between capital and impost.

It should be added that the metal cuffs that have been mounted on the columns at top and bottom are not quite as strong as they look. Spaces between the columns and the cuffs have been reinforced with lead.

Measurements:

	North	South
Capital, maximum height	41.0 cm.	40.0 cm.
Capital, maximum width	60.0	58.5
Impost block, height	26.0	24.5
Column, circumference	95.0	98.5
Metal cuffs, circumference	111.0	104.5

It is evident that the capitals have been reused. They represent the subgroup of the Byzantine Corinthian capital that Kautzsch has designated "Leierkapitelle," on account of the lyre form created by the coriaceous leaves around the leaf ornament in the middle of the sides of the capitals.<sup>138</sup> In Kautzsch's grouping the "lyre capitals" are closely related to the capitals where coriaceous leaves from the rudimentary helices meet in the middle of the side at an acute angle, forming a V.<sup>139</sup>

The "lyre capitals" are dated to about the first three decades of the sixth century, and Kautzsch regards it as unlikely that the type would have survived

<sup>138</sup> R. Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien. Beiträge zu einer Geschichte des spätantiken Kapitells im Osten vom vierten bis ins siebente Jahrhundert* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1936) (hereafter Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien*), 59f.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

to the Comnenian period.<sup>140</sup> Deichmann finds it possible that the type persisted even a little longer toward the middle of the century.<sup>141</sup>

The type is known in particular from Justinianic cisterns, but also appears (reused) in a few churches. Among related examples is no. 1228 in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul.<sup>142</sup> Here, the disposition of the whorled leaves in relation to the bracteoles differs somewhat from that which can be observed on the parecclesion capitals. But there are also the capitals from cistern 14, where the leaf ornaments under the abacus boss are missing and a cross is placed over the boss instead.<sup>143</sup> Close parallels are the capital from a cistern south of Sphendone<sup>144</sup> and capitals in Kilisse Camii.<sup>145</sup>

The type also appears in Greece,<sup>146</sup> where several examples can be cited.<sup>147</sup> Despite minor variations the group clearly embraces also the parecclesion capitals, which in accordance with Kautzsch's systematization of the material can be dated to the first half of the sixth century. It is possible that they were taken from a Justinianic cistern that had fallen into disuse at the time; at all events capitals of this type were reused in close relationship with Palaeologan constructions as exemplified by Kilisse Camii and Kariye Camii.

#### IV. SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS

The parecclesion was one of Theodore Metochites' most important additions to the already existing structure. Conceived as a sepulchral chapel for himself and his family, the design here follows a well-known tradition of which the finest example is its immediate predecessor, the addition to St. Mary Pammakaristos, or Fethiye Camii, of ca. 1310.<sup>148</sup>

The parecclesion of Kariye Camii contains four funerary monuments in the form of tomb niches, with room for the sarcophagus of the deceased and a portrait of him with his family on the rear wall. To these original four were

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 60f.

<sup>141</sup> F. W. Deichmann, *Studien zur Architektur Konstantinopels* (Baden-Baden, 1956), 87. It may be noted that the type, in a more or less modified form, was adopted in the West. A few splendid examples, however, were most likely imported; cf. a capital in Via Morone 8, Milan (E. Arslan, "Capitelli lombardi dal VI al IX secolo," in *Arte del primo Millennio* [Pavia, 1950], 297 and fig. cxxxvii), or a capital, with column, bricked into a wall in a street between Ruga Vecchia S. Giovanni Elemosinario and Fondamenta del Vin (near the Rialto) in Venice.

<sup>142</sup> Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien*, no. 184, pl. 14.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 190, pl. 14.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 195, pl. 14.

<sup>145</sup> S. Eyice, *Son devir Bizans mimarisi* (Istanbul, 1963), fig. 122; T. F. Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul. A Photographic Survey* (University Park, Pa.-London, 1976) (hereafter Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*), figs. 40-13, 40-15.

<sup>146</sup> Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien*, 72 ff.

<sup>147</sup> Corinth (*ibid.*, no. 226, pl. 16), Salonika (*ibid.*, no. 230, pl. 16), St. Demetrius (R. F. Hodinott, *Early Byzantine Churches in Macedonia and Southern Serbia* [London, 1963], pl. 28a), the church of the Apostles (Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien*, no. 235, pl. 16). A close parallel is also provided by the capitals in the Old Katholikon, Xenophontos on Athos (good reproduction in J. J. Norwich and R. Sitwell, *Mount Athos* [London, 1966], fig. 42); cf. G. A. Soteriou, *Αἱ χριστιανικαὶ Θῆβαι τῆς Θεσσαλίας* (Athens, 1931), fig. 53.

<sup>148</sup> Mango and Hawkins, "Report on Field Work," 319 ff.; C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1976), 269; Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 269.

later added four more which were placed in the narthices. Three windows were closed in the outer narthex and the niches were converted into arcosolia. Lastly, a tomb was placed against the north wall in the inner narthex.

In Underwood's description these funerary monuments are designated by the letters A to H, A to D being the tombs in the parecclesion itself, E to G those in the outer narthex, and H the tomb in the inner narthex.<sup>149</sup>

Of these, only Tombs A, D, and H will concern us here, since they are the only ones where sculpture forms part of the decoration.

#### A. TOMB A

This tomb, which is built into the north wall of the parecclesion, is the most imposing of Kariye Camii's funerary monuments in terms of size and arrangement (fig. 61). Like Tomb D, which is placed against the opposite wall, it has a carved marble facing which frames the actual tomb niche where the sarcophagus originally stood.<sup>150</sup>

The panel is mounted around the arch of the niche. An archivolt of acanthus leaves, with tips undercut and turned outward, runs around the arch, the edge of which is marked by a molding with a bull's-nose ornament. Inserted at the top of the archivolt is a bust of Christ, whose elbows rest on the lower edge (fig. 62). The spandrels are filled with half figures of the archangels Michael and Gabriel (figs. 64, 65), each with one wing extending vertically down the figure's back and the other raised horizontally in order to fill out the spaces between the angels and the central figure of Christ. The faces and hands of all three figures have been hacked away. The name of each is inscribed in relief. In each spandrel, beneath the figure of the angel, a foliate pattern emerges from what may best be described as a trumpet flower placed in the angle between the archivolt and the frame of the spandrels.

The frame, which is set at an angle to the panel, is decorated with a palmette motif. The whole panel is surmounted by a cornice composed of three pieces of unequal length, the decoration of which repeats the palmette motif of the frame in larger format.

The facing is made up of three marble slabs: a small centerpiece and two sidepieces. Possibly on account of faulty carving or a crack in the material the right-hand panel has been supplemented at the bottom by an additional piece (it is unlikely to have been a later repair). The addition was probably invisible, since it was subsequently painted over, but it reveals itself by a faint misalignment in the curvature of the arch; the same applies to the joints between the center- and sidepieces.

The outward turned acanthus leaves on the arch have been carved out of the same block as the background. In one case the tip of the leaf was broken

<sup>149</sup> Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 269 ff.; "Notes: 1955-1956" (note 2 *supra*), 271 ff., and "Notes: 1957," 215 ff.

<sup>150</sup> *Idem*, *Kariye Djami*, I, 270 ff.; Šmit, *op. cit.* (note 7 *supra*), I, Text, 95; Wulff, *op. cit.* (note 29 *supra*), II, 509, fig. 438; K. Wessel, "Byzantinische Plastik der Palaiologischen Periode," *Byzantion*, 36 (1966), 248 f.; Belting, "Zur Skulptur," 83 f., fig. 23; Grabar, *Sculptures*, II, 132, pl. cvrb.

off (the second leaf from the left), perhaps accidentally during the carving, and reattached with a dowel pin. The piece is now missing, but two deep dowel holes indicate the repair.

The marble facing rests on thin imposts (fig. 63). The same palmette motif which appears on the frame of the panel and on the cornice is repeated on their sloping sides. The eastern impost (with its original colonnette) was fitted into the little corner formed by the projecting pier between the western and eastern bays against which the tomb is placed on this side. The western impost has been drilled through and is now held in place by a modern iron cramp. Both imposts have been unevenly worked up on the underside. This has apparently been done to provide a grip for a thin layer of mortar, about 0.5 cm. thick, which is still partly preserved and which acted as a binding agent between the impost and the capital of the colonnette. The marble facing is about 2 m. above the level of the floor. Slots in the niche give a precise marking of the position of the lid of the sarcophagus and thus of the height of the sarcophagus, namely, 134.0 cm. The lack of coherence in the ensemble must have been compensated by the colonnettes and their capitals, which would have helped to bind the whole decorative scheme together visually.

Measurements:

Height of panel: 179.0 cm.

Total height including cornice: 198.0 cm.

Total width: 305.0 cm.

Height of arch from level of imposts: 120.0 cm.

Width of opening at springing of arch: 235.0 cm.

Thickness of panel: 8.6 cm.

B. TOMB D

This tomb is placed against the south wall of the parecclesion, in the western bay, almost directly opposite Tomb A (fig. 66). The marble facing is closely related to that of the preceding tomb; however, there are discrepancies in measurements, in the use and grouping of decorative elements, and in the fact that Tomb D is provided with an elaborate epitaph which crowns the panel.

This epitaph consists of two blocks of six lines each, placed on either side of the central bust of Christ, which is raised above the acanthus archivolt at this point. Each line consists of two verses, making a total of twenty-four.<sup>151</sup> The inscription panel consists of two slabs cut to fit around the figure of Christ. It rests on the marble facing at a distance of 7 to 8 cm. from the wall.

Here again, around the arch of the tomb niche, is an archivolt of acanthus leaves with undercut tips turned outward; the leaves protrude from a molding

<sup>151</sup> The epitaph is reproduced with a translation in Van Millingen, *op. cit.* (note 112 *supra*), 330–31; and (with a few corrections) in Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 276f. The epitaph is attributed to Manuel Philes by I. Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of His Time," *ibid.*, IV, 21 note 14. For the bibliography of Tomb D, see note 150 *supra*, and L. Bréhier, *La Sculpture et les arts mineurs byzantins* (Paris, 1936), 65, pl. XIII.

with a bull's-nose ornament that precisely follows the curvature of the opening. The frame of the panel is decorated with a palmette frieze at an angle to the background plane. The figure of Christ (fig. 67) in the middle of the panel rests on the acanthus archivolt and thus also protrudes above the upper edge of the panel, but is framed by the palmette frieze. The angels in the spandrels are identical to those of Tomb A, except that both wings are folded down along the back (figs. 69, 70). The heads and hands have been similarly hacked away. The spaces between the angels and the figure of Christ are filled here with a foliate pattern that emerges from a trumpet flower. The names do not stand out in relief but are painted on the background.

The marble facing is made up of three sections: a centerpiece (which includes the entire raised figure of Christ) and two sidepieces. The middle panel is held in place by two strong iron cramps placed to the right and left of the figure of Christ just above the acanthus archivolt. These iron cramps are rusting and are beginning to attack the surrounding marble. No imposts have been preserved.

Here, too, it is possible to determine the original height of the sarcophagus, 136.0 cm., from the position of the slots provided for the lid on the tomb. The panel has been mounted on the wall at approximately the same height as that of Tomb A, i.e., slightly more than 2 m. above the level of the floor.

The measurements reveal that, although the opening of the archivolt is somewhat larger here than in Tomb A, it is really a smaller monument in terms of its primary features. It is interesting to note, for instance, that it is only by the addition of the inscription panel that the marble facing of Tomb D becomes the same height as that of Tomb A, from which this element is entirely missing. With parts of the mosaic and fresco decoration in the niche itself preserved, Tomb D provides perhaps the closest approximation to a complete picture of the design and character of this luxurious type of funerary monument; in point of fact it is only the colonnettes and the sarcophagus itself that are missing.

#### Dimensions:

Total height of panel: 198.0 cm.

Width of panel (excluding overhang of cornice): 300.0 cm.

Height of inscription panel: 34.5 cm.

Height of cornice: 11.0 cm.

Height of arch from bottom edge of panel: 93.0 cm.

Width of opening at springing of arch: 231.5 cm.

A considerable amount of the sculpture preserved from Palaeologan times consists of tomb facings of this type: the two in the parecclesion of Kariye Camii exemplify a characteristic and fully developed type.<sup>152</sup> There is a considerable formal relationship between the templon relief over the Hodege-

<sup>152</sup> A number of examples are discussed and reproduced by Belting, "Zur Skulptur," whose point of departure is the archivolt with apostles from Fenari Isa Camii. Another fragment of this common type can be found at the church of Muchliotissa: cf. Hjort, *op. cit.* (note 106 *supra*), 107 ff.

tria mosaic in the naos, where the same elements are used and grouped in a very similar composition (fig. 27). Whether it is also possible to speak of a stylistic relationship is more open to question.

The stylistic difference between the two tomb facings is not essential. It can be observed first and foremost in the actual craftsmanship, in a tendency toward a greater clarity of detail, and in a more abstract overall effect on Tomb A that is not as striking on Tomb D. It is a matter of difference of degree; the fundamental concept is the same.

In Tomb D the ornamentation, especially the acanthus leaves on the archivolt, is relatively organic and coherent. The more schematic leaves on Tomb A seem to be dissolved in individual elements that have been rudimentarily combined to form a whole. The outward turned leaf tips end in a point on Tomb A, whereas on Tomb D they divide into three lobes. The foliate pattern between the angels on Tomb D is related to the ornament on a marble facing in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul (fig. 68).

The figures are also differently proportioned. Apart from the central figure of Christ on Tomb D, which is the youthful, beardless Emmanuel type with a small head on a slender neck, the heads were large and round. The overall impression created by the angels is of solidly proportioned figures with amply outlined bodies. The heads were scarcely inclined toward the figure of Christ. The draperies are heavier and not so crisp as those of the figures on Tomb A: the costumes fall in straight, vertical folds over the breast. Only on Michael, on the left, is there a suggestion of a few sharp angles in the folds on the bent right arm. The consistently affected, almost mannered style which, as we shall see, is characteristic of the figures on Tomb A, is absent here.

A peculiar feature of Tomb D is the costume worn by Christ: over the undergarment He wears a garment with a broad ornamental collar that also extends down over the breast and arms in three wide bands. With the exception of a related figure of Christ over an archivolt in a storeroom in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul,<sup>153</sup> I know of no other sculptural figures of Christ featuring this particular garment; it appears to reproduce (in a very crude version) part of the ceremonial court dress, of which there are several similar examples in the dome immediately above the tombs. Here the angels wear distinguished costumes, including a military tunic with a big collar that extends downward, dividing into three bands of which two cover the arms and the third hangs down over the breast.<sup>154</sup>

Compared with Tomb D the most striking aspect of the facing on Tomb A is the hardness of the carving—both the figures and the ornamentation appear to be devoid of organic life. The palmette motif on the cornice and frame is of an almost mechanical sharpness and hardness. The acanthus leaves of the

<sup>153</sup> No. 1161. A similar costume is worn by King Dušan (?) on his tomb, now in the museum in Skoplje: Grabar, *Sculptures*, II, 157, pl. cXLIVc.

<sup>154</sup> Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, III, pls. 413, 414, 416. It also appears in the mosaics; cf. *ibid.*, II, pl. 147. There are also examples in book miniatures, for example in a representation of Christ between the Wise and Foolish Virgins in Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS gr. 54, fol. 91<sup>r</sup>, dating from the close of the thirteenth century: V. N. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967), fig. 389.

archivolt display a correspondingly geometrical monotony; the individual leaves in the spaces between the leaf tips, laid one on top of the other in a series of arches, have not the remotest touch of organic suppleness.

In the draperies of the figures the folds lie as sharp, incised lines placed horizontally down an arm (see, for example, on Michael, on the left), or describe almost crystalline figurations, creating a remarkably abstract graphic effect that gives the impression of something hard and brittle—for example, the crisscross pattern formed by the folds in the costume of the Christ figure.

There is an interesting stylistic tendency in this. The figures—and this applies especially to the flanking angels—have a certain elegance that can still be detected in the careful inclination of the heads toward Christ: the direction of the gaze is emphasized by the wing that is raised to fill out the spandrel, at the same time becoming a symbolic gesture toward Christ with an echo in the gesture of the hands; with one hand the angel suggestively indicates the *sphaira* held in the other.

The placement of the angels in the spandrels is well balanced and effective; the abstract linearism, especially in Michael's drapery, has within the limits of its own graphic system a distinct, confident rhythm.

It should be noted at this point that the original effect must have differed considerably from that of the present: the marble was originally covered with a layer of gesso which was then painted and gilded. Sufficient traces of color have been preserved to prove that the whole panel was originally painted. The background was blue and the palmette frieze of the frame and other ornamentation were yellow and wholly or partly gilded. The angel on the left, Michael, stands today in unpainted marble, but there are traces of gilding on the wings and on the underside of the body. This part reveals that the yellow paint seems to have been applied first; it is overlapped both by the gilding on the underside of the figure and by the blue background beside the adjoining rinceau.

In other words, a more painterly approach has prevailed than is immediately apparent from the carving today; the graphic sharpness in the modeling has been softened by gesso and paint. It is conceivable that this sharpness and abstract linearism was deliberately produced with a view to the final effect; without it the gesso and paint might have blurred both outline and form too much.

In such case it is possible that the artists concerned have benefited from the experience gained from the sepulchral monument for Tornikes, Tomb D. At all events the sculpture would appear to have been deliberately subordinated to the overall pictorial effect.

*Dating:* It is evident that both Tomb A and Tomb D are not contemporary with the decoration of the parecclesion, but in their final form (including the sculptured frames) they must have been somewhat later than the fresco decoration.

The frescoes surrounding Tomb A had to give way when the marble facing was fitted into place. The cornice encroaches upon the decoration of the

lunette (and its windows), thereby partially covering the bottom of the scene of Moses removing his sandals.<sup>155</sup> In the lower zone the saints closest to the tomb have suffered: St. Gurias to the west, and St. Artemis (or St. Nicetas) to the east. The damage is more serious on the other side, where Tomb D partly cuts into the scenes of the lunette at the bottom (the cornice is placed on a level with the feet of the figures and is held in place by iron cramps set into the wall at this point) and partly cuts into the two military saints flanking the tomb: St. Mercurius to the west and St. Theodore Stratelates to the east.

What remains open to question is whether the marble facings alone should be regarded as later additions, or whether they were integrated with the original conception of the decoration of the tombs and should therefore be dated correspondingly.

Investigations made during restoration work have shown that the actual tomb niche in Tomb A was enlarged at some time after the decoration of the parecclesion had been completed. The masonry soffit of the arch has been hacked away to make the external opening of the arch larger. This must have taken place at the same time as, or with a view to, the setting up of the marble facing, since the curvature of the niche opening coincides with the archivolt of the panel.<sup>156</sup>

Corresponding alterations can be observed in Tomb D. The marble facing once again coincides precisely with the opening of the arch. Furthermore, it appears that it was in position before the interior decoration of the tomb niche was executed. The setting bed for the mosaics in the arch abuts the reverse of the marble panel and follows the curvature of the archivolt precisely. Some of the red color with which the setting bed has been painted has, moreover, spattered onto the reverse of the marble panel.<sup>157</sup>

The marble panels are thus contemporary with the remaining decoration of the tombs. The measurements and the somewhat different layout also show that the panels were executed for the positions they now occupy and do not stem, as Šmit in his time assumed, from a dismantled ciborium.<sup>158</sup>

Michael Tornikes was a friend of Metochites; both remained faithful to Andronicus II, and therefore also fell with him politically.<sup>159</sup> We know Metochites' fate, but we can follow Tornikes only until about 1328. If we take into consideration his relationships with the emperor and Metochites, he cannot possibly have played any part in the political life of the day after Andronicus III came into power; in fact, it seems likely that he suffered certain reprisals, perhaps banishment.<sup>160</sup> His burial in Kariye Camii is fully understandable in view of his friendship with Metochites and his political sym-

<sup>155</sup> Cf. Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, III, pls. 446, 447.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 272f.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 276; *idem*, "Notes: 1955-1956," 274.

<sup>158</sup> Šmit, *op. cit.*, I, 95; cf. Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 276.

<sup>159</sup> For the overthrow of Andronicus II and the events leading up to it, see D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453* (London, 1972), 159ff.

<sup>160</sup> Concerning Tornikes' role, see Underwood, "Notes: 1955-1956," 272; *idem*, *Kariye Djami*, I, 277 f.; G. Schmalzbauer, "Die Tornikioi in der Palaiologenzeit," *JÖBG*, 18 (1969), 131.



pathies. He was laid to rest with his wife; both are portrayed in the fresco on the rear wall, he as a greybeard.

The portraits existed first in mosaic, but at a later date were in such poor condition that a restoration and repainting in fresco became necessary.<sup>161</sup> It is tempting to set this in conjunction with the political events and to see the restoration in the light of Metochites' return. His exile was speedily terminated and he was reinstated in the monastery in 1330. Here he lived for two more years, aggravated by illness until his death on March 13, 1332.<sup>162</sup> During this time, if not before, he must also have seen to it that plans were put into motion for his own burial. It is also likely, in view of the political situation, that Tornikes was buried prior to the period 1328–32, but hardly likely that a need for restoration arose during that period. This was probably instigated later by members of Tornikes' family.<sup>163</sup>

The distinctive arrangement around Tomb A, which makes it one of the most interesting in the church, has been discussed by Underwood.<sup>164</sup> The monument is remarkable, not only on account of its size, but also for the fact that behind the tomb niche is a little room to which there is access from the passageway that links the parecclesion to the nave. This room is provided with small niches in the east and west walls and a small window that looks onto the nave. The room has the character of a chapel, perhaps built for commemorative services. Of the four funerary monuments in the parecclesion this is the most readily identifiable as the tomb of the *ktetor* of the monastery and church of Christ in Chora.<sup>165</sup>

Though the evidence is inconclusive it seems reasonable to assume that Michael Tornikes was buried in Tomb D around 1328, and that Tomb A was built for Theodore Metochites, who was buried in it in 1332.

#### C. TOMB H: THE DEMETRIUS TOMB

Although both the outer and the inner narthices were added by Metochites they were subjected to minor alterations during the period immediately following his death. This applies especially to the north side. The north wall of the inner narthex was thus completely covered with marble revetments, the removal of which disclosed a bricked-up arcosolium of the now well-known type (fig. 71).

This tomb was not built into the north wall, but was a new structure laid flush with the wall. Two solid pillars of dressed stone backed with rubble support a brick arch.<sup>166</sup> The sarcophagus was placed in the niche thus created, its lid resting on ledges in the masonry on either side.

<sup>161</sup> Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 278.

<sup>162</sup> Ševčenko, *op. cit.*, 30, 37; cf. R.-J. Loenertz, "La Chronique brève de 1352," *OCP*, 30 (1964), 50f.

<sup>163</sup> Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 278.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, 271.

<sup>165</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>166</sup> For the plan, cf. Oates, "Summary Report," fig. 1, additions marked "Phase 6"; Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 295ff.

Preserved on the rear wall and on the underside of the arch are fragments of the mosaic decoration (fig. 72); the only representation to have been preserved virtually intact is that of the Virgin, designed as the Mother of God, the life-receiving source. Just discernible on the left is the headdress of the deceased, who was depicted here. His name, Demetrius, is preserved in the fragmentary inscription placed between him and the Virgin.<sup>167</sup>

On either side of the niche, at the springing of the arch, sections of a marble architrave have been found (fig. 73). They have been let into the masonry of the side walls and extend the entire depth of the niche. Originally, without consideration for their decoration, they were covered by the mortar and plaster bed for the mosaics. These architrave sections served, as Underwood also observes,<sup>168</sup> as both imposts and corbels; the ends protruded between 26.0 and 29.0 cm. from the surface of the wall. Mounted on the undersides of the projecting ends were two capitals which undoubtedly once crowned two columns or colonnettes. When exposed, the capitals were lodged only a few centimeters into the wall, since the corbels above prevented them from tipping outward.

Both architrave sections were uncovered along their entire length. After restoration, however, the right-hand, eastern section was left exposed to view, while the other was once more covered with plaster. The capitals, which are now bolted to the corbels from below, have, moreover, been switched in relation to their original position, so that the only completely preserved side of the two capitals, that which formerly faced the west wall of the narthex, is now fully visible on the opposite side of the niche. The following description of the preserved sculptural decoration of the Demetrius tomb follows the present placement.

### 1. *Eastern Impost and Corbel* (figs. 73–74)

The entire beam including the corbel is a little more than 110.0 cm. long. The exposed side has a decoration which falls into two separate parts: a rectangular panel featuring a foliate motif on the actual beam, and the part designed to serve as a corbel, which is carved separately.

The foliate motif consists of a sheathed stem emerging from a calix in one corner; it divides at each upward and downward curve into side shoots, one of which terminates in a leaf while the other continues the stem. The alternating upright and dangling leaves are palmately lobed. The two in the middle are shaped almost like a palmette and a maple. The modeling has been executed with precision; the relief is plain and clear in its details, and not without organic life.

The decoration of the corbel is even harder and sharper. On the front a circular medallion is enclosed by closely leafed stems, two on either side. On the sides this leaf motif is varied as a palmette and two demipalmettes (fig. 74).

The corbel is somewhat damaged; the upper right-hand corner has been knocked off and there is a crack running vertically through the block.

<sup>167</sup> Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 297.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, 295.

## Dimensions:

Lintel, total length including corbel: *ca.* 110.0 cm.

Height of corbel, front: 20.5 cm.

Full width of corbel, front top: 36.0 cm.

Width of corbel at narrowest, front bottom: 28.3 cm.

2. *Western Impost and Corbel* (fig. 75)

The whole beam is covered with plaster; only the projecting corbel is now visible. Like its pendant, this had a foliate decoration. The beam thus had the same decoration front and back, and the two pieces must therefore probably be regarded as sections of a single architrave.<sup>169</sup>

The projecting corbel has likewise the same decoration as its pendant, but the technical execution is better. On the front the shape of the medallion is more regular. The stems of what is probably a cusped acanthus with very closely grouped leaves are more carefully executed, and where the leaf tips meet at the top next to the molding they are undercut and free of the background. Generally speaking the modeling is subtler and the conception of the cusped leaves less schematic and dry than on the pendant.

On the upper side of both corbels there is a groove in the top molding, here 12.5 to 13.0 cm. wide, and on the eastern corbel *ca.* 15.0 cm. wide (fig. 76). It is likely that the grooves were made for a relief facing of the same type as those on Tombs A and B.<sup>170</sup>

## Dimensions:

Height of corbel: 20.2 cm.

Full width of corbel, front top: 36.0 cm.

Width of corbel at its narrowest, front bottom: 28.0 cm.

3. *Capitals*

The capitals, whose positions, as mentioned above, are now reversed, have a molding at the top, slightly convex sides, and a light molding at the bottom where they were to rest on the colonnettes. The underside is unevenly worked up.

The capitals are decorated in accordance with a common theme: a prophet or saint on the front is flanked on the sides by two military saints. The head and halo of each figure overlaps the molding at the top of the capital and as a rule just touches the upper edge. With one exception all the haloes have double outlines.

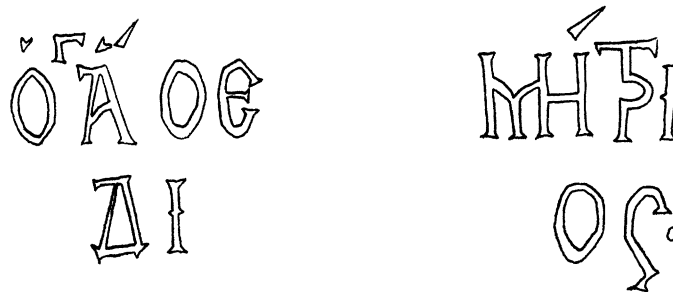
<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>170</sup> Ernest Hawkins is of the opinion that the rabbets on the corbels are original, possibly having been resting points for a beam. However, the rabbets would appear to have a marked secondary character. Compared with the precise carving on the remainder of the architrave sections they are clumsily executed. To the east the rabbet is carved down to the palmette decoration, and to the west barely 1.5 cm. is left of the uppermost molding. The measurements do not match either. On the other hand, care has been taken to make the rear edge of the rabbet flush with the wall (clearest in the west). I therefore believe that the rabbets are secondary and were made with a view to mounting the tomb facing.

a. *East Capital* (figs. 77–79): The half figure on the *front* is badly damaged (fig. 77). The entire head and the saint's right shoulder, including part of the breast, have been knocked off in one piece; the right hand has also been hacked off. It is unfortunate that no more has been preserved, as the figure in this ensemble is unusual and distinctive. The figure had long thick hair which fell down over the shoulders. The upper part of the body is remarkably broad in proportion to the arms. Part of the drapery of the costume has been preserved over the left shoulder and arm. The left hand holds a scroll; the hand itself is strikingly large and crude. The right forearm has been heavily undercut, giving the impression that it must have been almost free from the background. Apart from a draped cloth over the left arm and a strong twisted or plaited belt of hair, which marks the termination of the figure at the bottom, the upper part of the body was unclothed; the ribs are clearly indicated above the raised right hand.

Unlike the originally roundly sculpted right hand and part of the forearm, the right upper arm barely stands out from the background. The low relief at this point is broken by horizontal furrows. It is possible that these are to be understood as an attempt to indicate a hair shirt, which would be natural in conjunction with the plaited belt, the partly bared chest and shoulders, and the long, thick, curly hair. It is thus possible that the front of the east capital bears a representation of St. John the Baptist.

On the *east side* we have the only figure that can be identified by an inscription (figs. 78, E). The figure is difficult to study today because of its new placement, but good photographs were taken of this side before it was remounted. The inscription is distributed on both sides of the half figure: "Ο ἅγιος Διμήτριος (fig. E). Again, the head has been knocked off, and, moreover, the



E. Tomb H, Inscription on Eastern Side of East Capital (Present Location)

right arm and hand are so damaged that only their outlines can be traced. The proportions are slenderer than those of the preceding figure; this is the same type of youthful and refined warrior saint that is also known from the frescoes in the parecclesion.<sup>171</sup> The military costume corresponds, although here in more rudimentary form, to that which appears in a number of variants in the series of warrior saints depicted on the frescoes. The chlamys is draped over the left shoulder and is folded under the forearm in such a way that its corner

<sup>171</sup> Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, III, pl. 493.

is clutched in the saint's left hand. Beneath the chlamys can be seen the cuirass of scale armor. In his right hand the saint held a staff or short sword and possibly (but less likely) a scabbard.

The *west side* (fig. 79) has the only completely preserved figure: a youthful warrior saint with the same slender proportions as the preceding, but more richly equipped, apart from the particularly small halo, which also lacks the extra outline visible on the others.

The head is slightly raised and the chin thrust forward. The short hair lies close to the head like a calotte and is combed to leave a part down the middle. The ears stand out at right angles from the head, like handles, and the auditory duct is marked by a deep drill hole. The forehead recedes slightly, the cheekbones are prominent, and the cheeks are full and rounded. A faint "archaic" smile plays about the lips. The eyes look straight ahead; they are almond shaped and set in thick folds of skin. Tear ducts are not indicated. The straight, slightly flattened nose continues into the brow. The nostrils are indicated, as are the wings of the nose, the latter only by a slight incision. A little of the tip of the nose has broken off.

The saint's cuirass closes tightly around his neck with a wing collar; it is made of scale armor and is partly concealed beneath the chlamys draped over his left shoulder. Under the cuirass the saint wears a tunic which, in contrast to the chlamys and the cuirass, is indicated by sharp, straight folds. The sleeves of the tunic end just below the elbow. Under the tunic the saint wears an undergarment with long sleeves that end in a form of cuff at the wrist.

The right hand clasps a sword just below the hilt. The left hand is not visible but must be behind a small shield with a trifid leaf ornament of the cruciform type.

No special finish has been attempted. The background has been smoothed but is not polished. There are tool marks on the slightly uneven surface of the background. The moldings and halo have not been executed with particular care.

An interesting feature is that the front of the capital is emphasized by being more square than the sides, which become decidedly narrower toward the bottom.

#### Dimensions:

Full height of capital: 22.0 cm.

Width of capital at top molding, front: 26.3 cm.

Width of capital at bottom, front: 23.5 cm.

b. *West Capital* (figs. 80–82): The saint on the front is relatively well preserved, but the head has, as usual, been struck off and the break continues down over the figure's left shoulder (fig. 80). The bust exploits the full height of the capital; the large halo touches the upper edge, while the drapery on the right forearm is continued slightly on the underside of the capital.

The strong, fleshy hands are completely preserved and hold an unrolled scroll with no trace of text. The garment is not clearly defined and it cannot be determined whether an attempt has been made to distinguish between a

tunic and an undergarment; this does not appear to be the case. The modeling is otherwise sharp and precise and somewhat dry. The folds bend sharply over one another on the breast. The arms and elbow joints are modeled a little more softly and roundly. This might be a representation of St. John the Evangelist as a pendant to St. John the Baptist on the other capital.

The *east side* is also well preserved and detailed (fig. 81). The head has been struck off, and the surface of the fracture extends some way down the neck on the right-hand side of the figure, but the costume remains unscathed.

The military dress is depicted in meticulous detail. The chlamys is draped over the saint's left shoulder and is fastened at the right shoulder with a fibula. Underneath it is a cuirass of scale armor which also covers the shoulders and part of the upper arms; attached to it are *pteryges* that cover the remainder of the upper arm down to the elbow. Next to the skin the saint wears a tunic with long sleeves terminated at the wrist by a cuff. Over the lower part of the chlamys hangs a triangular shield with an incised ornament on the front; the bottom edge of this shield follows the hem of the chlamys precisely. The saint's right hand clasps the hilt of a sword. A small, misshapen left hand, indicated schematically, protrudes from under the chlamys, clutching the blade of the sword or its scabbard.

The military saint on the *west side* (fig. 82), which today is difficult to see on account of its placement against the west wall of the narthex, largely corresponds to the others. The head has been struck off and the break again extends a little way down the neck. The representation is slightly more summary than the preceding one. Draped around the shoulders is a chlamys whose folds lie almost in the form of concentric rings around the neck; it is fastened over the right shoulder with a fibula. The costume differs in one detail from the others: fastened over the breast, on top of the scale armor cuirass, is a strap or sash in the form of an inverted T (it is placed too high to be a *cingulum*). The upper arms are covered by *pteryges*. Next to the skin the saint wears a long-sleeved tunic.

The hands are clumsily modeled, and are held against the breast. The right hand grasps a staff and the left a sword.

Dimensions:

Full height of capital: 24.0 cm.

Width of capital at top molding, front: 27.8 cm.

Width of capital at bottom, front: 23.2 cm.

It is evident that the two inserted architrave sections and the capitals are not contemporaneous, a fact which can also be deduced from the way the architrave sections have been used: they have a structural function, and since they are reused pieces, no interest has been paid to their decoration, which as previously mentioned has been executed on both sides.

The conception of the leaf ornamentation differs considerably from the Palaeologan examples in the church, and the palmettelike ornament on the

imposts is also sharper and harder in execution than the more or less corresponding parallels dating from the early fourteenth century. On the other hand, the main features of the decoration of both pieces correspond well with Middle Byzantine ornamentation. Even though precisely this combination of the various leaf motifs is not otherwise found on relief borders, architraves, and templon elements, they are individually recognizable and distributed in other combinations where the technical execution is also similar.<sup>172</sup> Moreover, although generally more schematic with regard to composition of ornamental motifs, the material from Fenari Isa Camii displays close similarities; the technical variations that have been employed on the architrave sections (the hard, sharp carving on the impost block, the somewhat softer and fuller modeling on the actual beam) are also within the range of the carving we find here. A comparison with certain of the epistyle fragments, cornice fragments, and mullions<sup>173</sup> provides a basis for a dating to the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh.<sup>174</sup>

The capitals are of considerable interest to the study of Palaeologan sculpture. They supplement in a convenient manner such other sculptural decoration on tombs as it has hitherto been possible to study, and, furthermore, we are fortunate enough to have one of the capital sides preserved completely intact. It is on account of this side in particular that it is possible to add yet another phase to the development of sculpture in Constantinople during the period from the close of the thirteenth century to about the middle of the fourteenth.

Paul Underwood has already sifted the evidence pertaining to the identification of the deceased for whom this tomb was constructed.<sup>175</sup> It was reserved for one Demetrius Doukas, whose name is fragmentarily preserved in the remains of the inscription which accompanied the mosaic portrait of the deceased on the rear wall of the arcosolium. Among the possible members of the Doukas family whose first name was Demetrius, Underwood argues convincingly that this must be Demetrius the despot, son of Andronicus II, who was born after 1294 and died shortly after 1340, the year his daughter Irene married Matthew, the son of John VI Cantacuzenus, in Salonika.<sup>176</sup>

The year 1340 may be applied as a *terminus post quem* for the tomb. Underwood finds that a dating to shortly after 1340 conforms well with the style of the mosaics, but he also mentions the possibility that the tomb may have been built before Demetrius actually died.<sup>177</sup>

<sup>172</sup> Grabar, *Sculptures*, II, *passim*.

<sup>173</sup> Cf. C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "Additional Finds at Fenari Isa Camii, Istanbul," *DOP*, 22 (1968), figs. 12, 19, 20.

<sup>174</sup> It would naturally be tempting to attempt to link the architraves to an earlier phase in the building history of the church, for example as part of an earlier templon arrangement. As things stand at the moment the only possibility is "Phase 3"; according to the excavations the apse in this church had a width of *ca.* 5.5 m. Taking into account the total length of the two architrave sections (*ca.* 2.20–2.30 m.), this would give an entrance opening into the templon of slightly more than 2 m. Of course this is not improbable, but it does not agree with the factors that can be observed in other, preserved templon arrangements. The dating of "Phase 3" to *ca.* 1080, moreover, seems much too late for the architrave sections.

<sup>175</sup> "Notes: 1955–1956" (note 2 *supra*), 277; *idem*, *Kariye Djami*, I, 298.

<sup>176</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>177</sup> *Loc. cit.*

The two capitals join a small group of capitals with saints represented in half figure, all from Constantinople: one in the Cluny Museum in Paris,<sup>178</sup> one in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul (fig. 83),<sup>179</sup> and one from Fethiye Camii, now in the Ayasofya Museum (fig. 84).<sup>180</sup> To these may be added the templon capitals (figs. 28a-c, 29). The capitals in Paris and the Archaeological Museum are closely related: both are decorated with military saints, the one in Istanbul on all four sides and that in Paris on three of the sides with a foliate pattern on the fourth. On the other hand, the capital in Fethiye Camii has three apostles—Peter on the front, probably flanked by John and Matthew;<sup>181</sup> the fourth side is undecorated.

The capitals of the Demetrius tomb (figs. 77–82) are a combination of these, since John the Baptist and probably an apostle (John the Evangelist?) on the fronts are flanked on the adjacent sides by military saints. Their costumes correspond generally to those which can be seen on the capitals in Paris and in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul, but they are more detailed and precise in their execution. The postures and gestures also differ somewhat: none of the saints on the capitals of the Demetrius tomb is seen with one hand raised to breast level, the palm facing outward, which is a common gesture on the other capitals.

The surface treatment is more thorough on the capitals in Kariye Camii, where a somewhat smoother, if not polished, finish has been achieved. The extreme opposite is the capital from Fethiye Camii, where hasty, expressive modeling is actually emphasized by the careless, crude finish. In no case is the actual capital block so worked up and smoothed as in Kariye Camii.

Stylistically, the capitals in the Cluny Museum and in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul are closely related: in both cases the treatment of the drapery is fairly soft and summary. On the Paris capital in particular we find an elongated, almost egg-shaped head of a type that is very common in the frescoes and mosaics of Kariye Camii.<sup>182</sup>

The type of figure represented by the one fully preserved warrior saint was also common in Palaeologan times and has many parallels, not only in the church's own decoration but also in the group of sculptures that can be dated to around 1300.<sup>183</sup> In fact, it is so closely related to these sculptures that the real basis for a dating must be sought here.

<sup>178</sup> Wessel, *op. cit.* (note 150 *supra*), 228; J. Beckwith, *The Art of Constantinople* (London, 1961), 120, figs. 158–60 (Beckwith dates the capital to the eleventh or twelfth century); Belting, "Zur Skulptur," 83, fig. 22; *L'Art byzantin. Art Européen*, exhibition cat. Athens, 1964, no. 27; J. Maksimović, "La Sculpture byzantine du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *L'Art byzantin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Symposium de Sopotani* (Belgrade, 1967), 25, figs. 3, 4; Grabar, *Sculptures*, II, no. 135, pl. cxi.

<sup>179</sup> No. 1573 (Mendel, no. 757): cf. T. Ulbert, in W. F. Volbach and J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Byzanz und der christliche Osten*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, 3 (Berlin, 1968), 210 no. 117e; Belting, "Zur Skulptur," 83, fig. 21; Grabar, *Sculptures*, II, no. 140, pl. cx.

<sup>180</sup> Mango and Hawkins, "Report on Field Work," 331 f., figs. 26–29; Belting, "Zur Skulptur," 71 f., figs. 8, 9, 20; Maksimović, *op. cit.*, 25, fig. 5; Grabar, *Sculptures*, II, no. 130, pl. cx.

<sup>181</sup> Mango and Hawkins, *loc. cit.*

<sup>182</sup> See, for example, the angels in the western dome of the parecclesion: Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, III, pl. 412f.

<sup>183</sup> Belting, *loc. cit.*



The type is characterized by the round shape of the head, bulging forehead and/or a rounded jaw, and chubby cheeks. The hair is short and lies close to the head, and the ears generally stand out almost at right angles, like jug handles. The eyes are usually deep set and almond shaped, and as a rule no distinction is made in the modeling between the eyelid and the fold of skin below the eyes. Tear ducts are seldom indicated. In its most stereotyped version the face almost assumes the character of a doll-like mask, and there is no great difference between the youthful face and that of a child.<sup>184</sup>

This general characterization, which can also cover the youthful warrior saints (whose hairstyle is admittedly different, being thicker) on the capital in the Archaeological Museum, applies in particular to the following group: the youthful Christ at Muchliotissa (fig. 85),<sup>185</sup> the youthful apostle on an entablature from Fethiye Camii (fig. 86),<sup>186</sup> the youthful apostle on the lower left-hand side of the archivolt from Fenari Isa Camii (fig. 87),<sup>187</sup> and the warrior saint on the Demetrius tomb (fig. 79). There are noteworthy similarities within this series, though it should be observed that the apostle on the archivolt from Fenari Isa Camii is the only one whose pupils are indicated and whose hairstyle differs somewhat from that of the others.

The Christ Emmanuel at Muchliotissa and the warrior saint of the Demetrius tomb have the same short hair combed to the sides leaving a part down the middle, likewise the pronounced "jug handle" ears. Moreover, they have the same powerful eyebrow arches, the slightly receding forehead and full, rounded jaw, and almost puffy cheeks. Between them is the bust of the apostle from Fenari Isa Camii.

Within the limits of the general formula the individual details are treated more precisely on the Demetrius capital, where the form as a whole has acquired a more compact character. A lack of precision and a certain softness in the modeling is replaced here by sharpness and clarity, something which at the same time leaves an impression of dryness and deadness. This applies also to the folds of the costume, which are hard and schematic, a characteristic which becomes understandable within this sequence if it is compared with the sharp, at times almost metallic, quality of the carving on the sculpture facing of the Metochites tomb.

There would thus appear to be a tendency toward abstraction and an increasing hardness and sharpness that is discernible in the preserved material dating from the close of the 1320s. With this development reflected in the sequence of sculptures mentioned here, a date in the second quarter of the fourteenth century would seem plausible and in accordance with the dating of the tomb proposed by Underwood on the basis of the mosaic decoration and the historical evidence.

<sup>184</sup> Cf. O. Demus, "The Style of the Kariye Djami and its Place in the Development of Palaeologan Art," in *Kariye Djami*, IV, 111f.

<sup>185</sup> Hjort, *op. cit.* (note 106 *supra*), fig. 1; Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, fig. 37-15.

<sup>186</sup> Mango and Hawkins, "Report on Field Work," 332, figs. 30, 31; Belting, "Zur Skulptur," 70f.

<sup>187</sup> T. Macridy, "The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul," *DOP*, 18 (1964) (here after Macridy, "Monastery of Lips"), 262f., fig. 35; Belting, "Zur Skulptur," 67f., fig. 3.

## V. FRAGMENTS

During restoration work several minor fragments appeared that had become isolated from their original context. These finds stem from fillings and from layers of rubble under the floor, but with very few exceptions no record has ever been kept of precisely where these small finds came to light.

Except for a few fragments now in the Archaeological Museum and two large fragments—the front of a sarcophagus and a marble closure slab, both of which are now in the prothesis—all casual finds are stored today in the little room to the west of the corridor which links the parecclesion with the nave.

## A. ARCHITECTURAL AND ORNAMENTAL FRAGMENTS

1. *Sarcophagus Front* (figs. 88, 89)

Height: 80.0 cm.

Length: 175.0 cm.

Thickness: 5.2 cm.

During excavations under the floor in the apse of the parecclesion there emerged the front of a sarcophagus which, together with another carved slab, covered a tomb (fig. 88). The tomb was a long narrow chamber, the walls of which were constructed of the usual brickwork in seven courses. The tomb was so long that two slabs were required, laid end to end, to cover it.<sup>188</sup>

The whole area had otherwise been dug over and there were no archeological layers that could support a dating. It appeared that the grave had been plundered in recent times. The gilded capital now in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul (cf. *infra*, pp. 279–81, fig. 121) was found beneath the two slabs, together with a few pieces of marble, wooden rails, and the like.

The decoration of the sarcophagus front consists of a rectangular sunken panel framed by a double molding (fig. 89). The middle of the panel was originally ornamented with three medallions. Those at each end have a rosette pattern, but the center medallion is missing since the slab is pierced at this point by a circular hole.<sup>189</sup> Sufficient traces remain at the top, however, to determine that the medallions were interconnected by a continuous band. The center medallion may have had the same ornament as the other two, or perhaps a cross monogram.

<sup>188</sup> Two photographs of the tomb exist where the slabs are exposed: Dumbarton Oaks Photograph Collection, nos. 58.127 and 58.128; the latter is reproduced here. The other slab, which covered the tomb together with the sarcophagus front discussed here, is known to me only from photographs of the excavation. It would appear to be an approximately square chancel screen slab with a piece broken off one corner. A molding running along the frame enclosed a medallion. The whole medallion and a part of the panel within the molding have been carefully worked over so as to leave no trace of the medallion's motif; unless a better preserved ornament existed on the other side, the slab appears to be of no particular interest.

<sup>189</sup> The slab must have been pierced before it was put in this position; no fragments of its middle section were found in the grave. I owe this information to Ernest Hawkins.

At the top an inscription runs the full length of the slab:

(†) ἔκοιμήθ(η) ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ λέων ὁ σκιαστής : ὁ διὰ τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀγγέλ(ικοῦ)  
σχ(η)μ(α)το(ς) μετονομασθεὶς λεόντιος (μον)αχ(ός). ἐν ///<sup>190</sup>

The slab has been trimmed on the right-hand side, apparently to make it fit over the tomb along with the other slab. From a comparison with the preserved side it is estimated that slightly more than 30 cm. of the slab is missing on the right-hand side. The left-hand side is somewhat irregular and battered, with traces revealing that it was rabbeted into the side wall of (we may assume) an arcosolium tomb. Some 7.0 cm. have been let into the wall, which means that the now 166.5 cm.-long inscription must have been supplemented by *ca.* 25.0 cm., corresponding to seven or eight letters without ligatures. This would have been sufficient to state the indiction and year, which are now missing.

The inscription follows a common formula whose introduction, according to analogies, is followed by the name of the deceased.<sup>191</sup> Furthermore, it bears eloquent witness to the common practice, well known to us from Kariye Camii, of ensuring one's own burial within the walls of the church by retiring to a monastery in the twilight of life and choosing a new religious name, assumed with the vows and beginning with the same letter as one's baptismal name.<sup>192</sup>

The decoration of the slab belongs to a type that consists, in its simplest form, of a central disc (possibly in a wreath and possibly supplemented by *lemnisci* below and/or a cross), stylized palms, or other rosettes symmetrically placed on either side of the center rosette. The motifs are common in Middle Byzantine art.

On the basis of the type of decoration the sarcophagus front can, therefore, be dated to the tenth or eleventh century. It is conceivable that it stems from a box tomb in the church as it was during "Phase 3."

The style of the lettering, however, is clearly later; it probably dates from the fourteenth century, and it is equally possible that the slab was reused in connection with one of the Palaeologan burials. The measurements—*ca.* 208.0 × 80.0 cm.—differ somewhat from those which can be deduced for the sarcophagi in the eight tombs in Kariye Camii. It comes closest in size to Tomb H, whose sarcophagus must have been *ca.* 217.0 × 118.0 cm. All the other sarcophagi, judging by the marks preserved, were taller, though they may have rested on low plinths.

<sup>190</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Jørgen Raasted for help with the reading of the inscription.

<sup>191</sup> Cf. examples from Antioch, in R. Stillwell, ed., *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, III, *The Excavations 1937-1939* (Princeton, 1941), no. 145 (dated 1063), p. 92; also no. 158 (fragmentary), *ibid.*, p. 94f., and nos. 85 (*ibid.*, II, 1933-1936 [1938], p. 158) and 86 (*ibid.*, p. 160). The same formula also appears on a slab in the museum in Bari which was reused for a certain Basil who died in 1075 (H. Belting, "Byzantine Art among Greeks and Latins in Southern Italy," *DOP*, 28 [1974], fig. 31).

<sup>192</sup> Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 270. I am grateful to Professor Cyril Mango for clarifying the uncommon term σκιαστής for me. However, in this study I have made no serious attempt to identify the Leo mentioned in the inscription.

2. *Slab, Decorated on Both Sides* (figs. 90, 91)

Height: 73.0 cm.

Width at widest point: 78.5 cm.

Thickness: 4.5 cm.

*Side 1:* An equal-armed cross is set in a quatrefoil field with a triple molding (fig. 90). Placed diagonally in the corners are stylized leaves. The ornamental motif was originally placed in a square panel whose width was not greater than the present width of the fragment and whose molding can be observed on three of the sides. The arched outline at the top is the result of the panel having been reworked.

*Side 2:* The entire panel here is filled by a Christ monogram surrounded by a circle. However, this is not a full circle, since it is broken by the arched and slightly beveled termination at the top where it more or less follows the concluding section of the curvature (fig. 91). This hacking has been carefully done, in an attempt to adapt the slab to suit a new function.

The Christ monogram is incised with deep lines; the spaces between the cross arms have the form of stylized ivy leaves whose barely indicated stalks adjoin the surrounding circle.

Both types of decoration are common. The basic form of side 1, i.e., the equal-armed cross in a quatrefoil panel, is known, for example, from a slightly simplified version on a parapet slab from St. Demetrius in Salonika; the slab belongs to the seventh century.<sup>193</sup> An earlier and more elaborate example stems from Basilica B in Philippi.<sup>194</sup> Closely related, however, is a parapet slab from Cavalla, near Marmara, dated by Volbach to the ninth or tenth century.<sup>195</sup> The type thus appears frequently in various versions during several periods; that the latter example indicates the correct dating of the fragment is corroborated by a comparison with the sculptural material from Fenari Isa Camii. The design and carving of the leaf motif in the diagonals is very closely related to the types of ornamentation used on epistyles, cornices, and the like.<sup>196</sup>

The cross monogram on side 2 with the intervening spaces in the form of stylized, heart-shaped ivy leaves is a similarly common type. Early examples are known, e.g., from St. Demetrius in Salonika,<sup>197</sup> from Philippi,<sup>198</sup> and from Thebes.<sup>199</sup> Related eleventh-century examples are found in San Marco in Venice<sup>200</sup> and St. Sophia in Kiev.<sup>201</sup>

<sup>193</sup> G. and M. Soteriou, 'Η βασιλική (note 90 *supra*), II, pl. 49a.

<sup>194</sup> P. Lemerle, *Philippes et la Macédoine orientale*, Album (Paris, 1945), pl. LXXV, no. 92. Cf. also S. Pelekanides, 'Ανασκαφαὶ Ὀκταγώνου Φιλίππων, in Πρακτ. Ἀρχ. Ἑτ., 1960 (1966), fig. 71a.

<sup>195</sup> Now in Berlin, cat. no. 3247; cf. W. F. Volbach, *Bildwerke*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1930), 28f., with further examples.

<sup>196</sup> Macridy, "Monastery of Lips," fig. 44 (bottom right); Mango and Hawkins, "Additional Finds" (note 173 *supra*), figs. 17, 19.

<sup>197</sup> G. and M. Soteriou, 'Η βασιλική, II, pl. 47d.

<sup>198</sup> Lemerle, *op. cit.*, Album, pl. LXXV, nos. 32, 126; and a better reproduction in Hoddinott, *op. cit.* (note 147 *supra*), 191, fig. 99.

<sup>199</sup> Soteriou, Αἱ χριστιανικαὶ Θῆβαι (note 147 *supra*), fig. 90–91.

<sup>200</sup> Zuliani, *op. cit.* (note 68 *supra*), no. 20; Grabar, *Sculptures*, II, pl. XLV. The dating to the eleventh century is probably not quite certain. Zuliani (*op. cit.*, 56) is of the opinion that the slab

The clearest indication of its date is to be had from side 1, where the elaborate quatrefoil panel and the execution of the stylized, diagonally placed leaves suggesting a date in the tenth century, provide a terminus post quem for side 2.

It is not possible to determine precisely for what purpose the slab was reused in its new form. It probably functioned as a closure slab forming part of a chancel screen, but it may also have been reworked to be used as a sarcophagus slab.<sup>201a</sup>

### 3. *Fragment with Funerary Inscription* (fig. 92)

Height: 34.0 cm.

Width: 28.0 cm.

Thickness: 6.0 cm.

Despite the irregular form and fragmentary character the most important part of this tombstone has been preserved. A piece is missing at the bottom; the vertical sides, including the right-hand, uneven side, are slightly rounded at the rear. The clumsily written inscription is almost complete:

† ενθαδ(ε)  
κατακίτε  
ευφημια  
P

The inscription follows an established formula in its shortest and simplest form. Other examples of this type from Constantinople have been published by Ebersolt,<sup>202</sup> and a number of sixth-century examples from Greece by Soteriou.<sup>203</sup> The tomb inscription in Kariye Camii also belongs to the fifth or the sixth century.

### 4. *Fragments of Archivolt* (figs. 93, 94, F, H)

Endpiece, left: Height: 26.0 cm.

Length: 36.0 cm.

Right-hand piece: Length: 44.0 cm.

Total length of both pieces: 80.0 cm.

These two sections belong together and form the first 80.0 cm. of the left-hand side of an archivolt (figs. 93, F). The smaller piece is an endpiece of which the first few centimeters are without decoration and slightly beveled. Despite the fact that a piece is missing at the top, traces of a drill hole can still be seen.

must belong to the sixth or seventh century, whereas Grabar (*op. cit.*, 78) considers it to be an eleventh-century copy. For a number of examples of the motif with slight variations in San Marco, cf. Zuliani, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>201</sup> H. Logvin, *Kiev's Hagia Sophia* (Kiev, 1971), pl. 273 (sarcophagus of Yaroslav the Wise); Grabar, *Sculptures*, II, no. 76, pls. LVIII, LIXb. However, these examples lack the rather delicate and precise execution we find on the fragment in Kariye.

<sup>201a</sup> This was suggested to me by Dr. Nezih Firatlı.

<sup>202</sup> J. Ebersolt, *Mission archéologique de Constantinople* (Paris, 1921), 49ff., nos. 3–5, 7, 9, 10.

<sup>203</sup> Soteriou, *Αἱ χριστιανικαὶ Θῆβαι*, 152, no. 6.

The decoration of the arch is in three sections. The innermost has a bead-reel-and-spindle molding in which oval shapes alternate with lozenge shapes, the rhythm being a-b-a-c. Above, separated from the lower course by a deep fluting, runs the middle pattern, which consists of a row of slightly curving acanthus leaves set at an angle. The leaves are seven-lobed, and a consistent element should be noted: every other and every seventh leaf lobe is provided with a drill hole in or beside the leaf tip. At the top, the decoration concludes with a sunken palmette frieze whose leaf tips (and thus the upper edge of the arch) curve slightly outward.

These fragments of an archivolt have been carved from a disused closure slab taken from a chancel screen or the like. The decoration on the reverse (fig. 94) consists of a well-known repertoire of star rosettes, a triquetrous whorl, an interlaced ribbon ornament, and a rosette with a scalloplike pattern, all enclosed within triangular or square panels formed by wide, continually running ribbons.

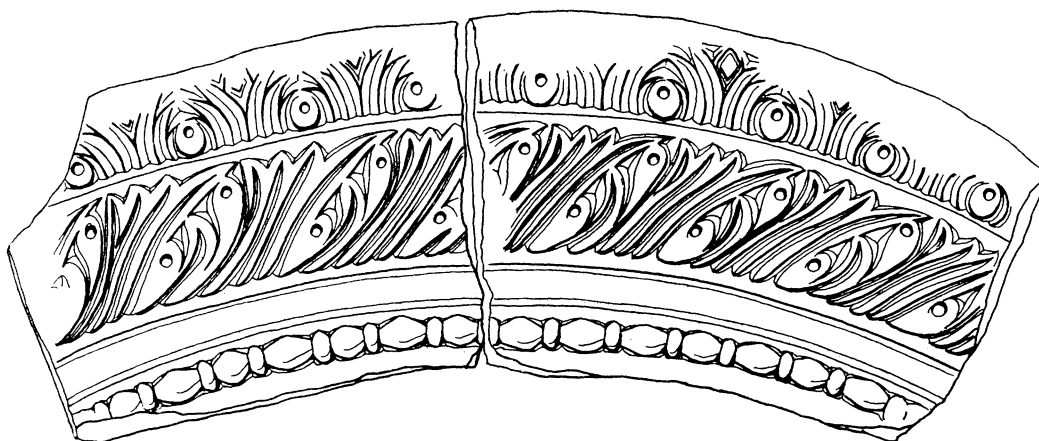
The screen slab has been cut through diagonally so as to obtain the longest possible continuous section of the archivolt out of it, and the star rosette formed the corner decoration in the upper right or bottom left corner. A suggested reconstruction is shown in figure H; it should be noted, however, that the star rosettes in the corners might very well alternate with whorl rosettes, for example. A freely alternating change of effect between such ornaments is often encountered in Middle Byzantine chancel screens.

The comparative material has not as yet been precisely dated in all its essentials, but slabs of this type with related combinations of motifs taken from the fixed repertoire may be dated generally to the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>204</sup> The closest parallel to our fragment is probably the reverse side of a slab now in the garden of the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul.<sup>205</sup>

The decoration of the archivolt is characterized by the gliding, rhythmical center frieze of sloping acanthus leaves. The motif is not new, but probably goes back to a type represented, for example, by a fragment from St. Eu-

<sup>204</sup> Cf. C. D. Sheppard, "Byzantine Carved Marble Slabs," *ArtB*, 51 (1969), 65ff., esp. 69. For a survey of the material up to the tenth century, see T. Ulbert, *Studien zur dekorativen Reliefplastik des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes (Schrankenplatten des 4.-10. Jahrhunderts)*, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia, 10 (Munich, 1969).

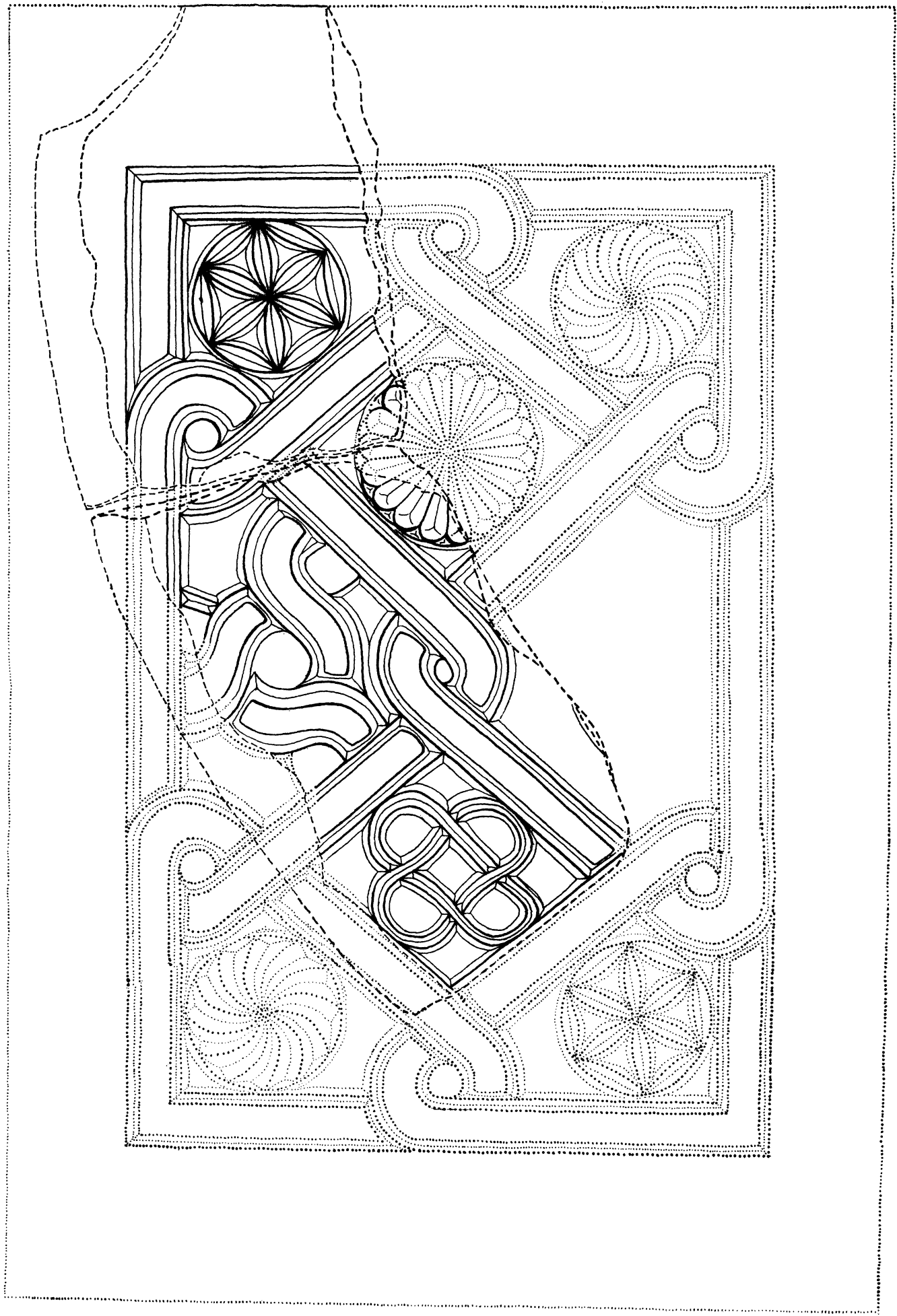
<sup>205</sup> No. 2906, reportedly from Arap Camii in Galata: cf. Ebersolt, *op. cit.*, 40f., pl. xxxvi, 1; Sheppard, *op. cit.*, 69, fig. 10; Grabar, *Sculptures*, I, pl. LXIII. See also a related example in the Archaeological Museum garden, no. 4388 (Sheppard, *op. cit.*, fig. 9); cf. also Zuliani, *op. cit.*, 98, no. 72, and *passim*. Other examples in Istanbul include slabs mounted in the arcades of the façade in Kilise Camii (Eyice, *op. cit.* [note 145 *supra*], figs. 124, 126, 127; Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, fig. 40-14). See also a fragmentary slab from St. Demetrius in Salonika (Th. Pazaras, *Κατάλογος χριστιανικών αναγλυφών πλάκων Θεσσαλονίκης με ζωόμοφους παραστάσεις*, *Byzantina*, 9 (1977), no. 28, p. 62ff. and pl. 16 (dated ninth-tenth century). Cf. also a closure panel from the iconostasis of the church of the Holy Apostles in the Athenian Agora and related panels in the Byzantine Museum (one from Moni Petraki): A. Frantz, *The Church of the Holy Apostles*, The Athenian Agora, XXX (Princeton, 1971), 14f., pl. 11e, i, j. The repertoire of ornamental motifs as well as the surface treatment of the marble can also be seen on fragments of the iconostasis from the church in Selçikler Köyü, published by N. Fıratlı, "Découverte d'une église byzantine à Sébaste de Phrygie," *CahArch*, 19 (1969), 150ff., esp. fig. 20. For an example from Athens, cf. M. Soteriou, *Τὸ καθολικὸν τῆς Μονῆς Πετράκης Ἀθηνῶν*, in *Δελτ.Χριστ. Ἀρχ. Ἑτ.*, Ser. 4,2 (1960-61 [1962]), pl. 49,2, p. 111 (9th-12th century).



F. Fragments of an Archivolt (Fragment no. 4)



G. Suggested Reconstruction of Closure Slab (Fragment no. 4)



H. Fragment of a Sham Sarcophagus (Fragment no. 5)



phemia, perhaps of the sixth century.<sup>206</sup> Here the rhythm is freer and more varied and the spacing of the leaves is more open, while the leaf frieze on our fragment in Kariye Camii is strictly organized and extremely schematic with regard to detail (for instance, the distribution of the drill holes).

The distribution and use of drill holes, tending toward a pronounced light and shadow effect, are a clear forerunner of the treatment of related, though differently organized, leaf friezes of the beginning of the fourteenth century. I am thinking here especially of the Hodegetria mosaic in Kariye Camii and the more or less contemporaneous fragment of an archivolt from St. Euphemia (also, incidentally, carved from a disused chancel screen slab).<sup>207</sup> The archivolt fragment is by no means so advanced from a technical viewpoint; it represents an earlier phase. The carving can to a certain extent be compared with sculpture from Zeyrek Camii (Pantokrator, the south church) of the first half of the twelfth century,<sup>208</sup> and also parts of the templon arrangement in Kalenderhane Camii, probably of the late twelfth century.<sup>209</sup>

I would suggest a dating to the first half of the twelfth century for the archivolt fragment, among other reasons because of the stylistic similarity between the uppermost frieze and the crown frieze on the angel capitals (figs. 41–53). It is conceivable that we have here a part of the embellishment belonging to the early twelfth- or late eleventh-century phase. In all circumstances the fragments are closely related to others in the church, namely *infra*, p. 278, fig. 117, and pp. 278–79, figs. 119, 120.

##### 5. *Fragment of Sarcophagus Front* (figs. 95, 96, G)

Greatest height: *ca.* 66.0 cm.

Greatest width: *ca.* 51.0 cm.

Thickness: 12.0 cm.

Marked on reverse: "58–P.2"

Preserved on the front of this large and heavy fragment are parts of a decoration which appear to belong to the front of a sarcophagus (fig. 95). A flat pilaster with fluting down the middle is surmounted by a capital decorated with what can best be described as a rudimentary egg-and-dart frieze. On either side are the remains of arched niches, the upper sections of which have a scalloped pattern whose relief springs from a heart-shaped boss (on the right). The space above the springing of the arches is filled by a lily. The curvature of the arches is marked by a simple molding and the section above is con-

<sup>206</sup> R. Naumann and H. Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken*, *IstForsch*, 25 (Berlin, 1966), 88, cat. no. 5d, pl. 16e.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, 83f., fig. 28 (p. 85), and pls. 15b, 16d, 49c.

<sup>208</sup> Megaw, "Notes," 344.

<sup>209</sup> It seems to be established beyond doubt that the present templon arrangement is secondary, perhaps dating after 1261. Stylistically it is a mixed affair. It can be assumed that the entablatures and bottom frames of the templon panels stem from the original late twelfth-century templon. I am grateful to Cecil L. Striker and Urs Peschlow for information about the sculpture in Kalenderhane Camii. Dr. Peschlow will be responsible for the sculpture material in the final publication of Kalenderhane Camii, which is now in preparation.

cluded at the top by a plain, horizontal molding. The rough-hewn area above this was apparently relatively high.

Here again we have a fragment of a slab that has been reused. Preserved on the rear (fig. 96) are two slightly beveled sides of a lotus-palmette frieze. Along the underside of the frieze runs a simple dentil ornament. The remainder of the block on this side is rough-hewn.

This heavy block was clearly used as part of a cornice in a corner arrangement. The longest side has a faint curvature, and it is possible that the block provided a transition in the run of a cornice to an apse or a niche.

The ornamentation is wholly in accordance with that used on the cornice in the nave in Kariye Camii. Several sections of this are missing, and the fragment may well have been placed here.<sup>210</sup> There is also the possibility that it was rejected on account of faults; on the shorter side the leaf frieze changes character: the short vertical center leaf is not finished in the same way as the others but rests, unfinished, on the edge of the sloping fracture surface. The frieze *in situ* in the nave of Kariye Camii belongs to the church's "Phase 4," i.e., the beginning of the twelfth century.<sup>211</sup> The fragment also has a close parallel in the cornice in Zeyrek Camii's (Pantokrator's) south church, which dates from between 1118 and 1124 (fig. 97).<sup>212</sup>

The model for the sarcophagus relief (it is probably too thick to have been part of a chancel screen) is provided by the column sarcophagi. The latest finds of dummy sarcophagi in Istanbul<sup>213</sup> reveal that sarcophagi of this type, not imported and of high quality, existed in the capital. This is also confirmed by a fragment in the storeroom of the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul that features niches with a scallop pattern and pillars with twisted shafts and Corinthian capitals.<sup>214</sup>

On the fragment in Kariye Camii—which may be said to reflect Wiegartz's Type F: "Typ mit Bogenarkade"<sup>215</sup>—the niches have ceased to have any function other than ornamental. They did not have figures; even the simple crosses one often sees are missing, but it is possible that the center panel may have had one, or possibly a cross monogram.

The rough-hewn section above is presumably a later adjustment; the center panel with the arcades may well have been surrounded by a more richly molded frame than is the case at present. It is not possible to state whether there was a rebate above designed for a sarcophagus lid. If the preserved panel represents half the niche the total height would have been between 130 and 140 cm., which is wholly in accordance with the sarcophagi in Kariye Camii.<sup>216</sup>

<sup>210</sup> I have been able to study the cornice only from floor level and with the help of photographs, and have not, therefore, compared measurements in detail.

<sup>211</sup> Oates, "Summary Report," 227.

<sup>212</sup> Megaw, "Notes," 344.

<sup>213</sup> N. Firath, "Deux nouveaux reliefs funéraires d'Istanbul et les reliefs similaires," *CahArch*, 11 (1960), 73 ff., figs. 4, 5; *idem*, "Encore une façade de faux sarcophage en calcaire," *CahArch*, 16 (1966), 1 ff., fig. 1.

<sup>214</sup> Published by F. W. Deichmann, in *BZ*, 62 (1969), 291 ff.

<sup>215</sup> H. Wiegartz, *Kleinasiatische Säulensarkophage*, *IstForsch*, 26 (Berlin, 1965), pl. 46.

<sup>216</sup> The lowest was Tomb H (118.0 cm.), the highest Tomb E (ca. 146.0 cm.). But the norm is 132.0–136.0 cm.

However, the possibility that the fragment stems from a chancel screen also exists; an obvious parallel with this function is provided by the fragment of the templon screen from St. Euphemia, the reverse of which has been reconstructed as four flat niches with a scallop-shell termination at the top.<sup>217</sup> Here the cross is placed in the flat niches. A later version of this motif can be seen in a fragmented screen from Antalya dated to the eleventh century.<sup>218</sup>

There is much comparative material dating from the sixth century. Several examples are to be found in Ravenna, either in the form of sarcophagi proper or as screens, altar sides, and the like.<sup>219</sup> In Istanbul there exist fragments from St. Euphemia.

The molding on the flat pilaster column is of a type also found on the marble doors in Kariye Camii and St. Sophia. Just as in these cases, the modeling of the moldings, etc., is relatively imprecise and more or less freehand. A dating to the sixth century must also apply to this fragment.

6. *Fragment of Chancel Screen (?)* (fig. 98)

Maximum length: 24.5 cm.

Width: 17.0 cm.

Depth: *ca.* 5.0 cm.

The fragment is part of the molded framework around a chancel screen. Within the broad sunken molding lies an ornamental band consisting of alternating lozenges and quatrefoils. Incised lines within the lozenges repeat the rhomboid form, while two incised lines within the quatrefoils form a cross. The surface profile is smooth; the innermost molding has a fluting along the middle. The central panel of the closure slab has been sunk at a considerably deeper level than the frame; this is evident from the fracture surfaces.

The fragment would appear to have been part of a reused slab. It has been cut obliquely at one end, the innermost molding has been trimmed down, and next to the smooth molding on the beveled side is a drill hole, presumably made with a view to fastening the piece to another with a dowel. The carving is closely related to that on the preceding fragment, and the piece may be similarly dated to the sixth century.

7. *Border from Chancel Screen (?)* (fig. 99)

Length: 16.0 cm.

Width: 8.3 cm. (rinceau: 6.0 cm.)

Depth: 5.8 cm.

This is probably a fragment of a molded framework around a screen or slab. In a sunken panel between two smooth moldings runs a simple undulat-

<sup>217</sup> Naumann and Belting, *op. cit.* (note 206 *supra*), 57f., fig. 24, pls. 8a, b.

<sup>218</sup> Feld, *op. cit.* (note 80 *supra*), 163f., fig. 2, pl. 7a.

<sup>219</sup> G. Valenti Zucchini and M. Bucci, *I sarcofagi a figure e a carattere simbolico*, "Corpus" della scultura paleocristiana, bizantina ed altomedioevale di Ravenna, II (Rome, 1968), cat. no. 2ff. The scallop-shell niche in this form is also a characteristic feature on ivories; cf., for example, the sixth-century Christ and the Virgin in Berlin: Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 137, pl. 42.

ing stem with small shoots that branch out to the sides and end in small vine leaves. In the present version this common motif concurs best with examples of the sixth century,<sup>220</sup> and should probably also be dated to this period.

8. *Fragment of Archivolt* (fig. 100)

Height: 13.5 cm.

Length: 18.0 cm.

Thickness: 7.5–8.0 cm.

The fragment shows a compact entwined rinceau framed by two thin moldings. The surface of the fragment has a striking convexity, and, moreover, the fragment has a slight longitudinal curvature. It was probably part of an arch or an archivolt.

The compact leaf molding of the rinceau, the design of which almost seems to run wild, was common already in the sixth century,<sup>221</sup> but in this and related versions was just as frequently used in the twelfth century. The extremes in the development of the vine-runner motif that interest us here are on the one hand the regular and precisely defined leaf whorls on the eleventh-century icon frame in Hosios Lukas,<sup>222</sup> and on the other a fragment of a slab bearing a representation of Hercules in the Byzantine Museum in Athens.<sup>223</sup> In the energetic and rhythmical sweep of its lines the rinceau on this fragment is very close to our fragment, but the carving is woolly and soft; the dating is to the thirteenth century. There is another fragment in the Byzantine Museum, an architrave from the so-called philosophers' monastery outside Athens, dated 1205, which in the manner of its carving comes considerably closer to the fragment in Kariye Camii.<sup>224</sup> Stylistically it would seem that the fragment should be placed somewhat earlier; the carving is very close to what can be found in material from the Pantokrator, such as a capital, now in Berlin,<sup>225</sup> of the twelfth century.

9. *Fragment of Archivolt* (fig. 101)

Length: 22.0 cm.

Height: 9.0 cm. (the bead alone: 6.3 cm.)

Thickness: 4.2 cm.

The main part of the fragment consists of a bead with remnants of an acanthus wreath. At the top is a flat molding with dentils along the upper edge. Since the leaves are turned under the lower edge and the fragment as a whole has a slight curvature, it is undoubtedly part of an archivolt.

<sup>220</sup> Cf. Angiolini Martinelli, *op. cit.* (note 37 *supra*), no. 115, p. 131 ff.

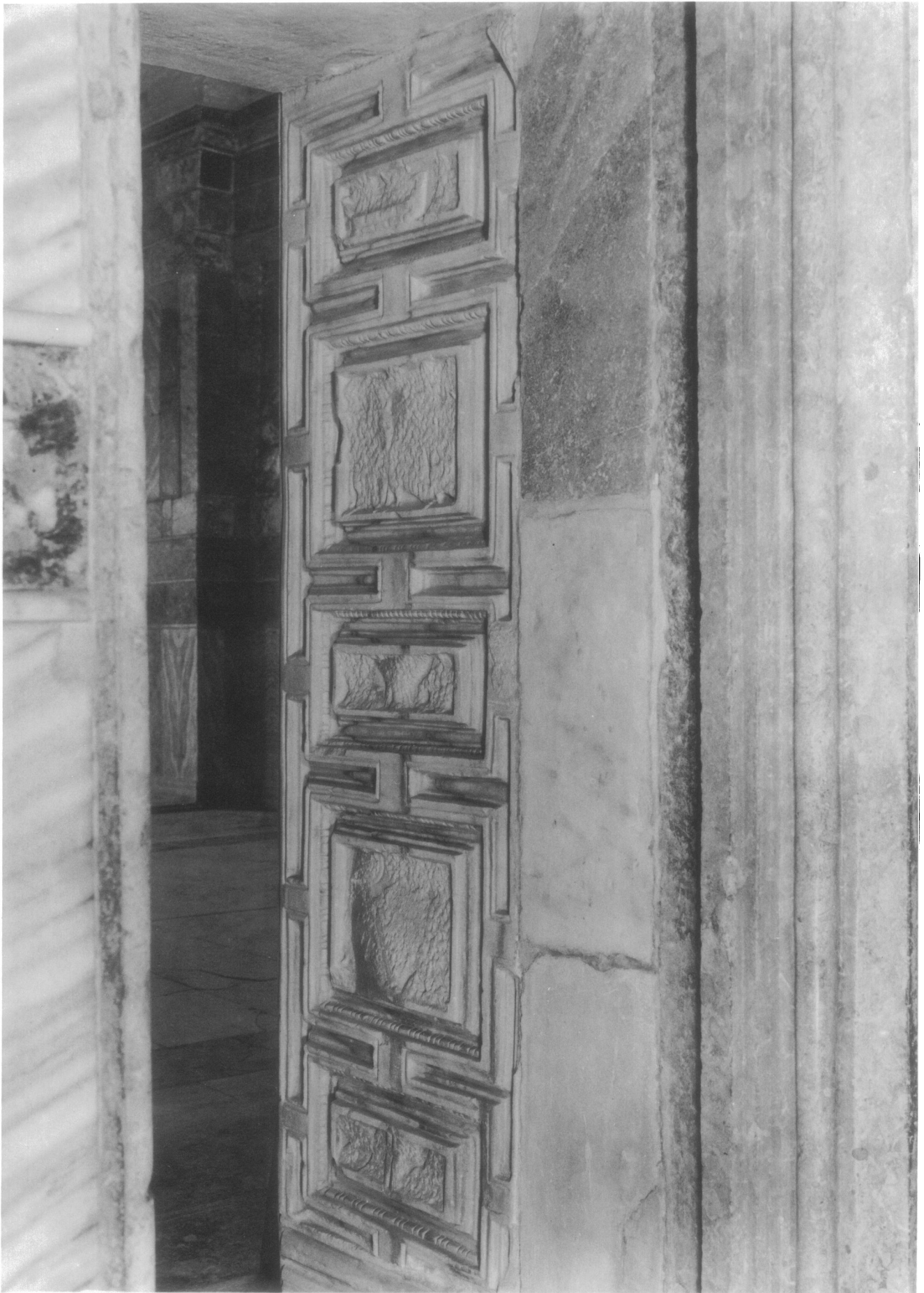
<sup>221</sup> Cf. the fragment with related form reproduced in Soteriou, *Αἱ Χριστιανικαὶ Θῆβαι*, 64, fig. 69; cf. also *ibid.*, 75, figs. 86, 12. A similar whorl motif can also be seen on the architrave from Hagia Sophia's propylaeum (Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, fig. 31–5).

<sup>222</sup> Grabar, *Sculptures*, II, no. 44, pl. XIX.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 108, pl. LXXXVIIIb.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 105, pl. LXXXI.

<sup>225</sup> Cat. no. 6270: cf. Volbach, *Bildwerke* (note 195 *supra*), 32f.



1. Kariye Camii, Marble Doors, South (left-hand) Door



2. Kariye Camii, Marble Doors, North (right-hand) Door





3. Kariye Camii, Marble Doors



4. Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Rabbula Gospels, fol. 4v, detail

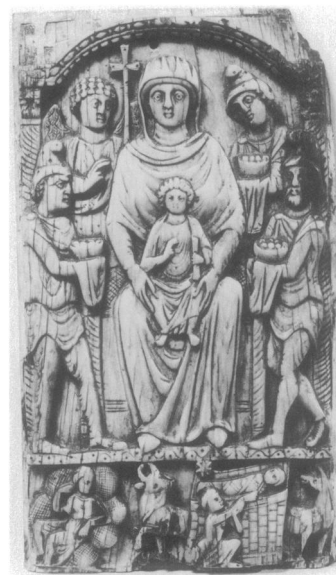
The Nativity



5. Kariye Camii, Marble Doors



6. Monza, Cathedral Treasury. Ampulla 3, Obverse



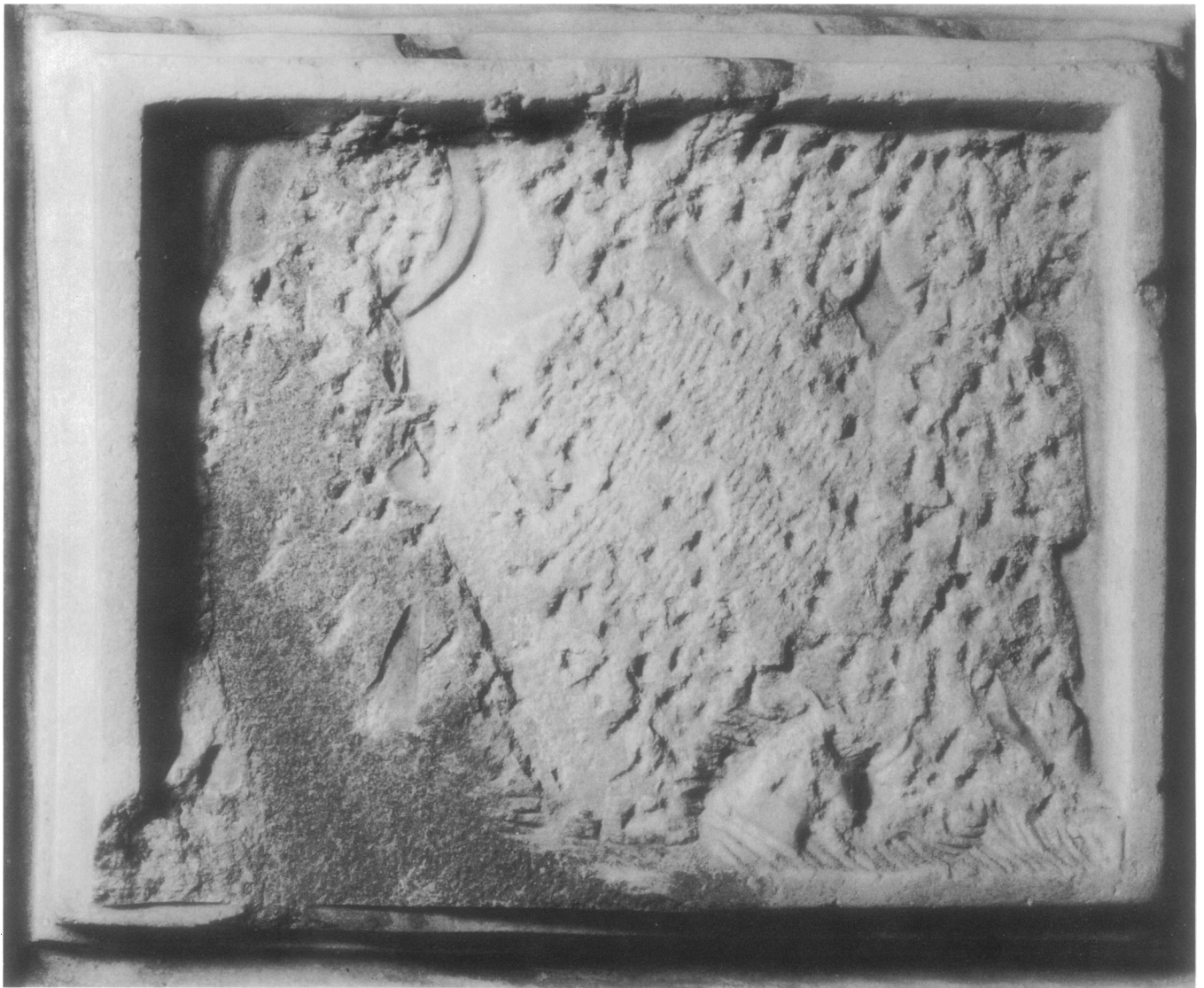
7. London, British Museum. Ivory

The Adoration of the Magi





8. Upper Part, Sol and Luna



9. Lower Part



10. Lyons, Museum. Ivory, The Baptism



11. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. Marble Fragment, Marine (?) Personification

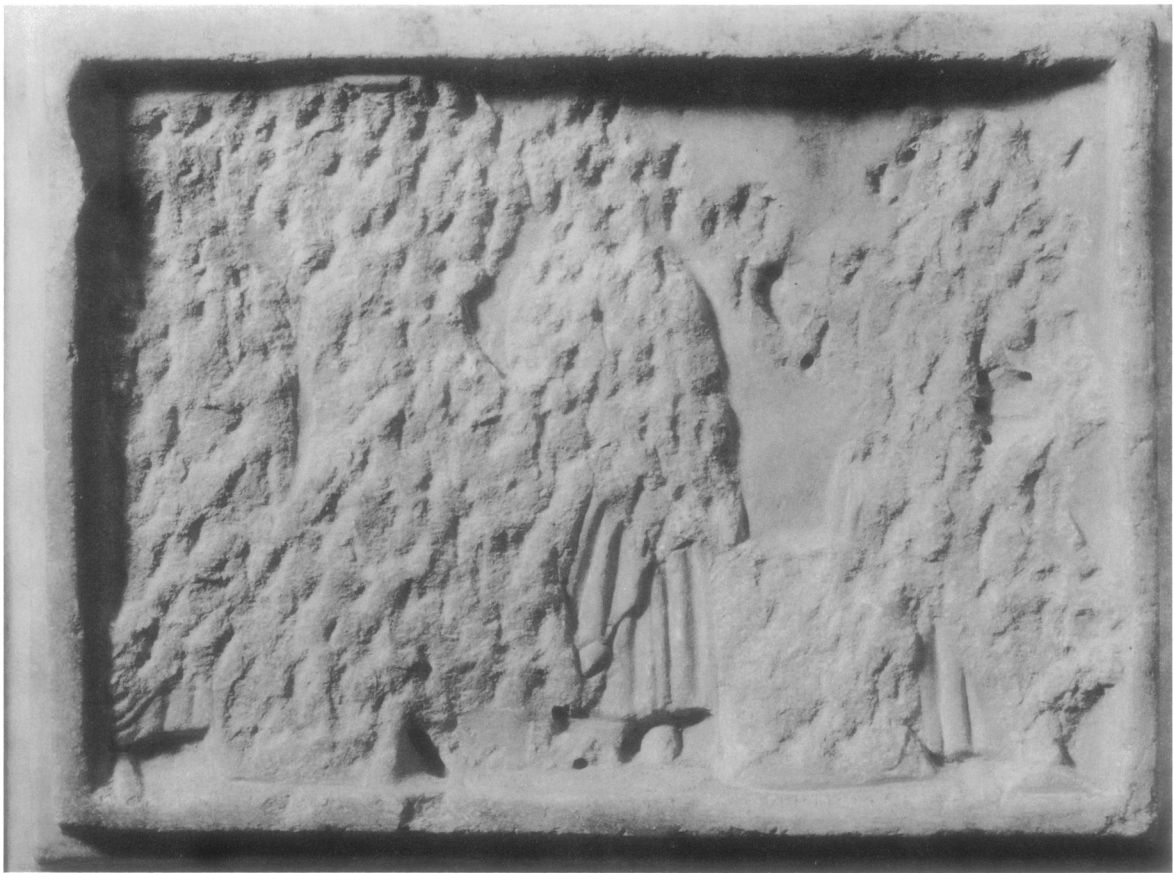


12. Two Juxtaposed Animals (?)



13. The Story of Jonah

Kariye Camii, Marble Doors



14. Kariye Camii, Marble Doors



15. Ravenna, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo. Mosaic

Jesus and the Samaritan Woman at the Well





16. Kariye Camii, Marble Doors. The Adoration of the Cross (?)



17. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. Marble Fragment of Sham Door



18. Upper Part



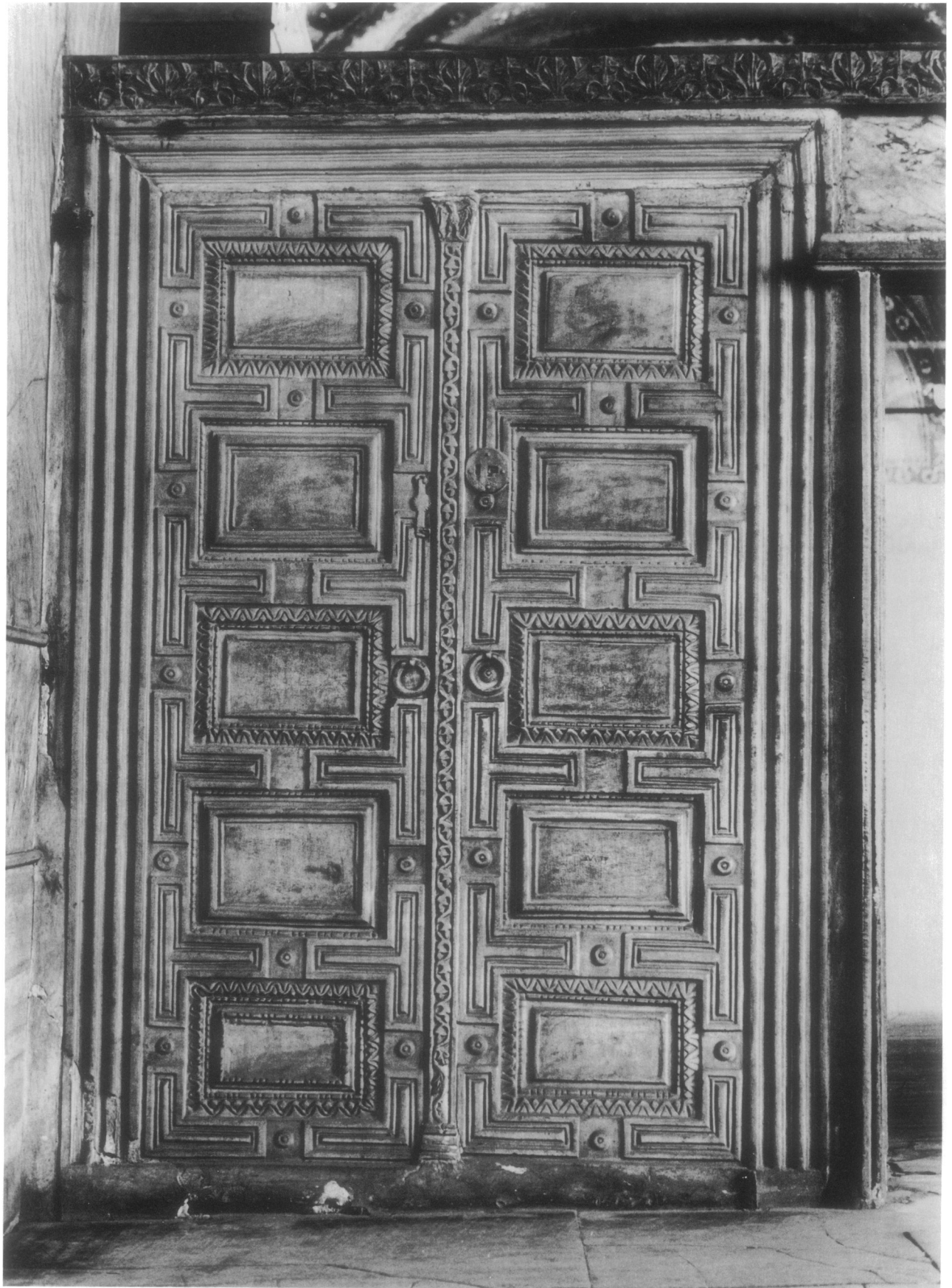
19. Lower Part



20. Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Rabbula Gospels



21. Rome, Museo Sacro Vaticano. Reliquary from Sancta Sanctorum, detail



22. St. Sophia, South Gallery, Marble Doors

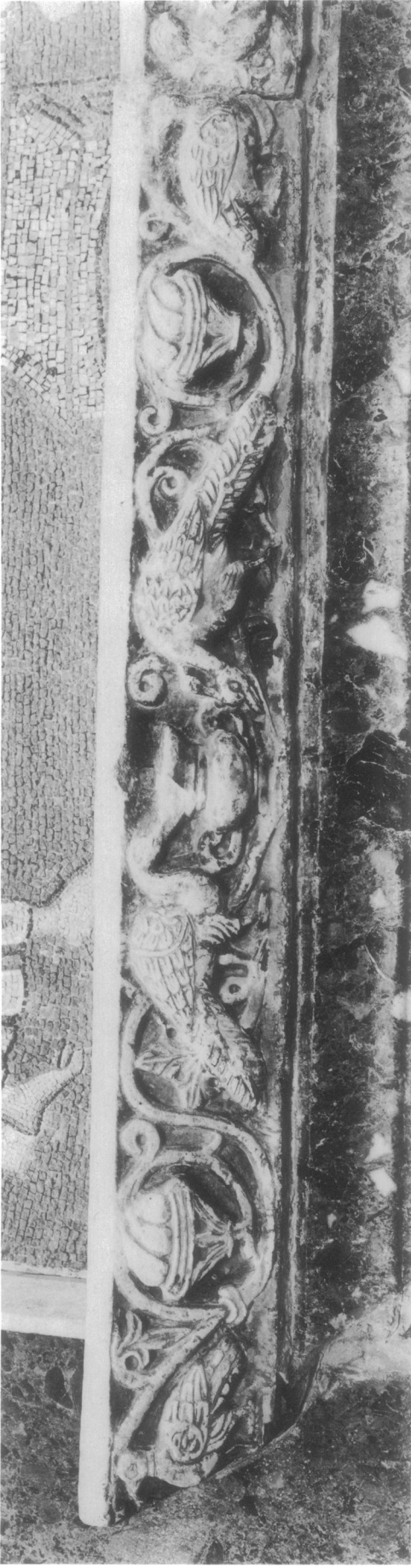




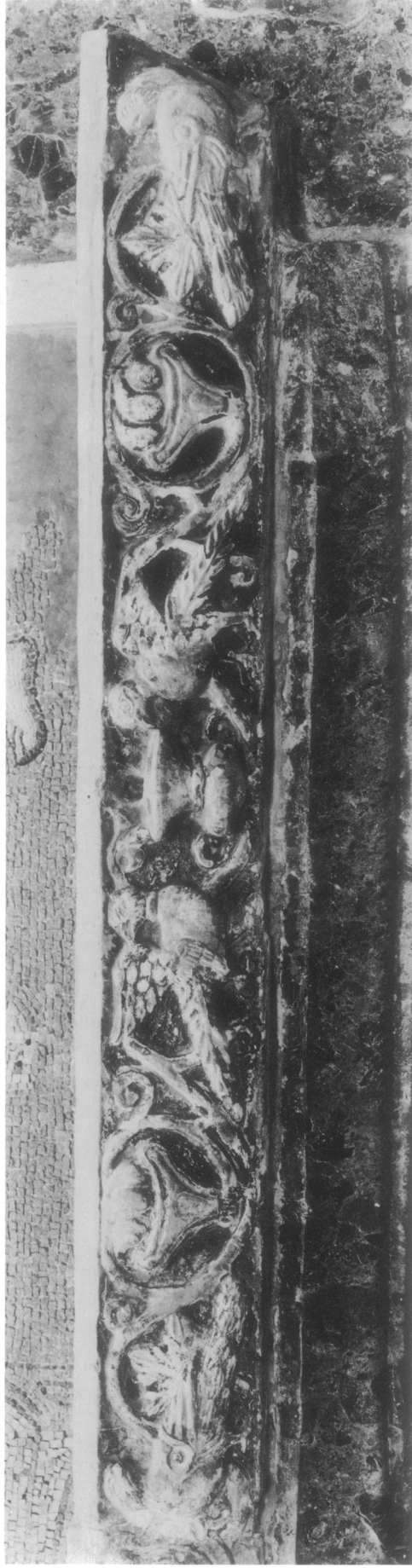
23. Istanbul, Kalenderhane Camii, Marble Panel Over West Entrance of Naos



25. St. Sophia, South Gallery, Marble Doors, detail



a.



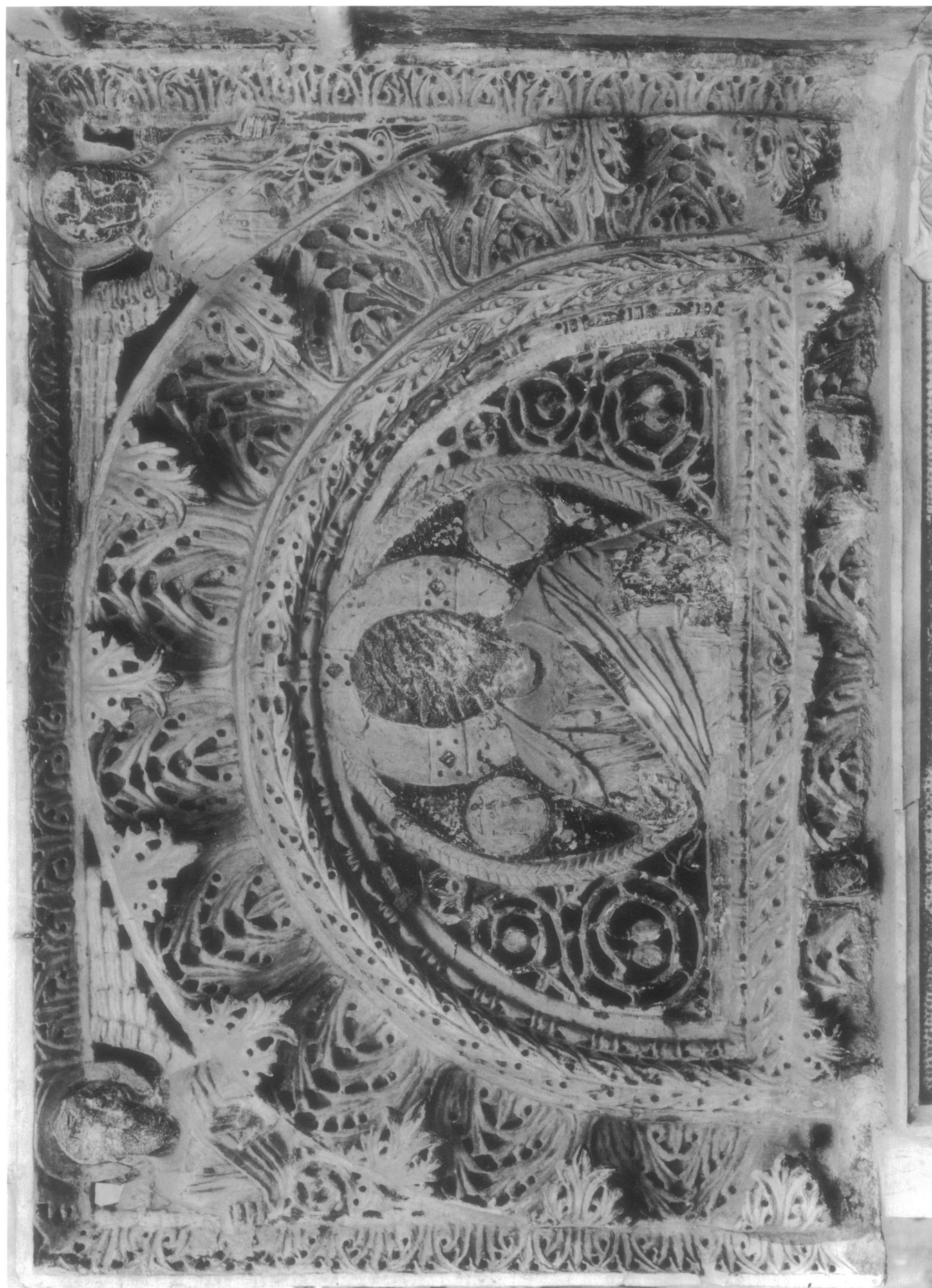
b.

24. Kariye Camii, Lintel Over Main Door to Naos



26. Kariye Camii. The Virgin Hodegetria Mosaic Surmounted by Canopy with Bust of Christ Pantokrator





27. Kariye Camii, Canopy Over The Virgin Hodegetria Mosaic



a.



b.



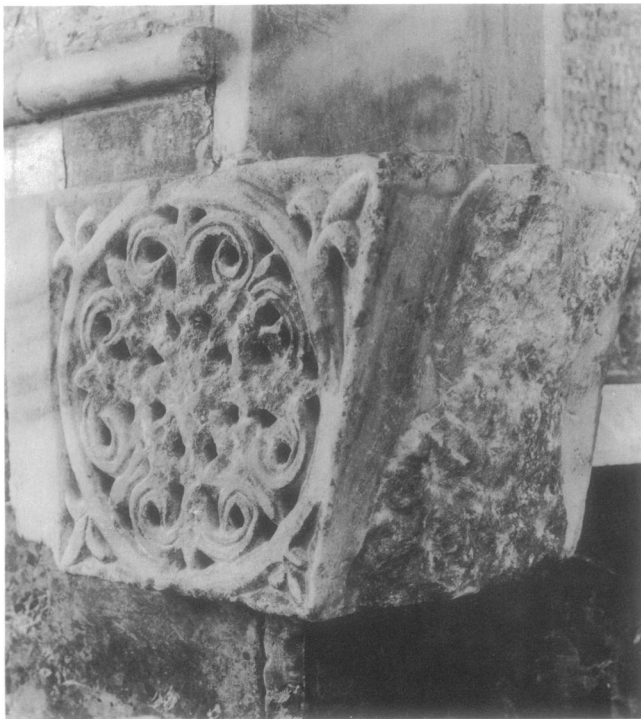
c.



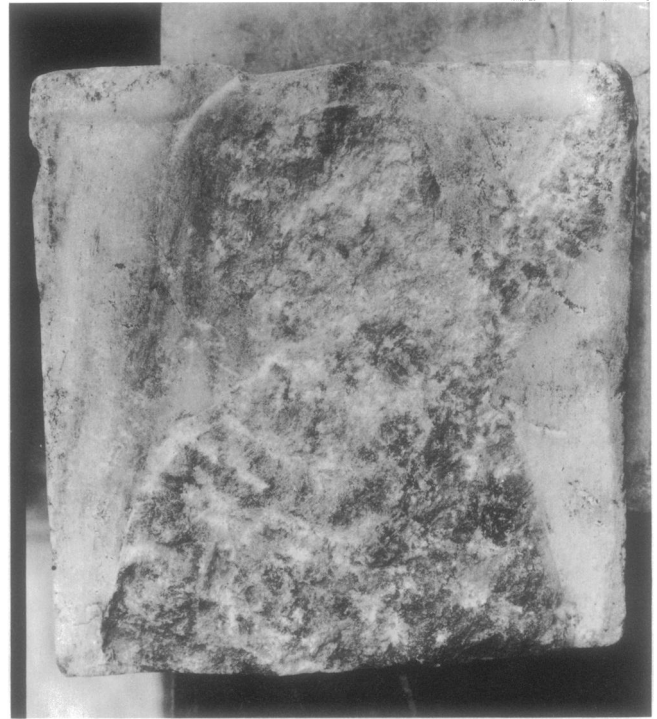
29. Leningrad, The Hermitage. Capital from Templon of Kariye Camii



30. Kariye Camii, Corbel South of The Virgin Hodegetria Mosaic



32. Side View



31.

Kariye Camii, Corbel North of The Virgin Hodegetria Mosaic





33.



34. Side View

Corbel South of Christ Panel

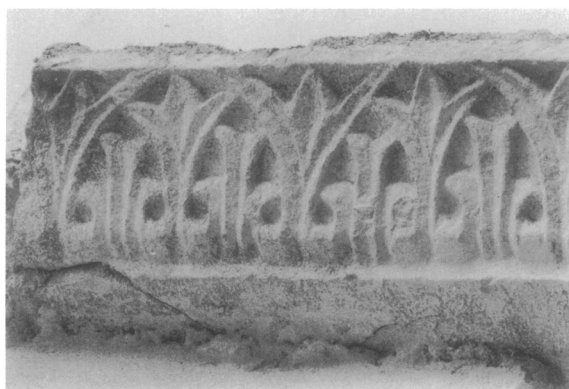


35. Corbel North of Christ Panel

Kariye Camii



36. Fethiye Camii, Bema. Cornice, detail

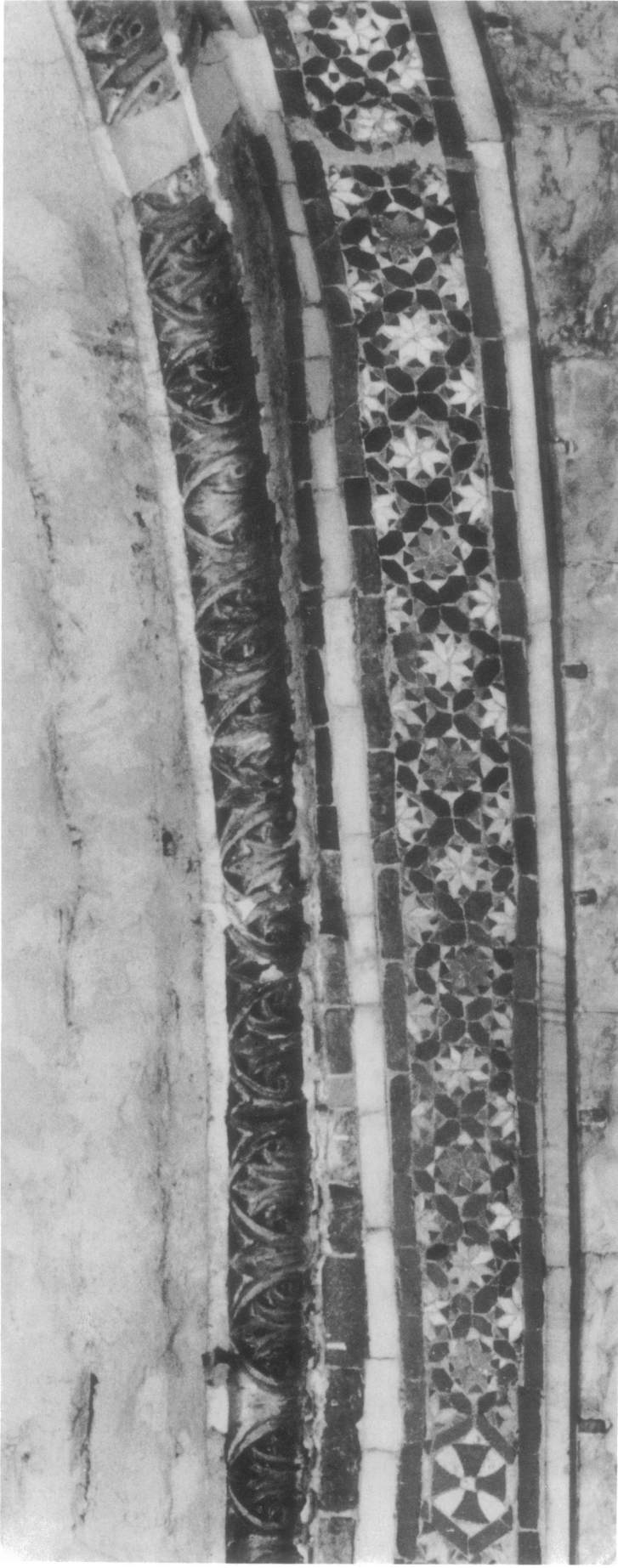


37. Pantokrator, North Church, Naos.  
Cornice, detail



38. Kalenderhane Camii, Naos, Eastern Piers. Frieze, detail

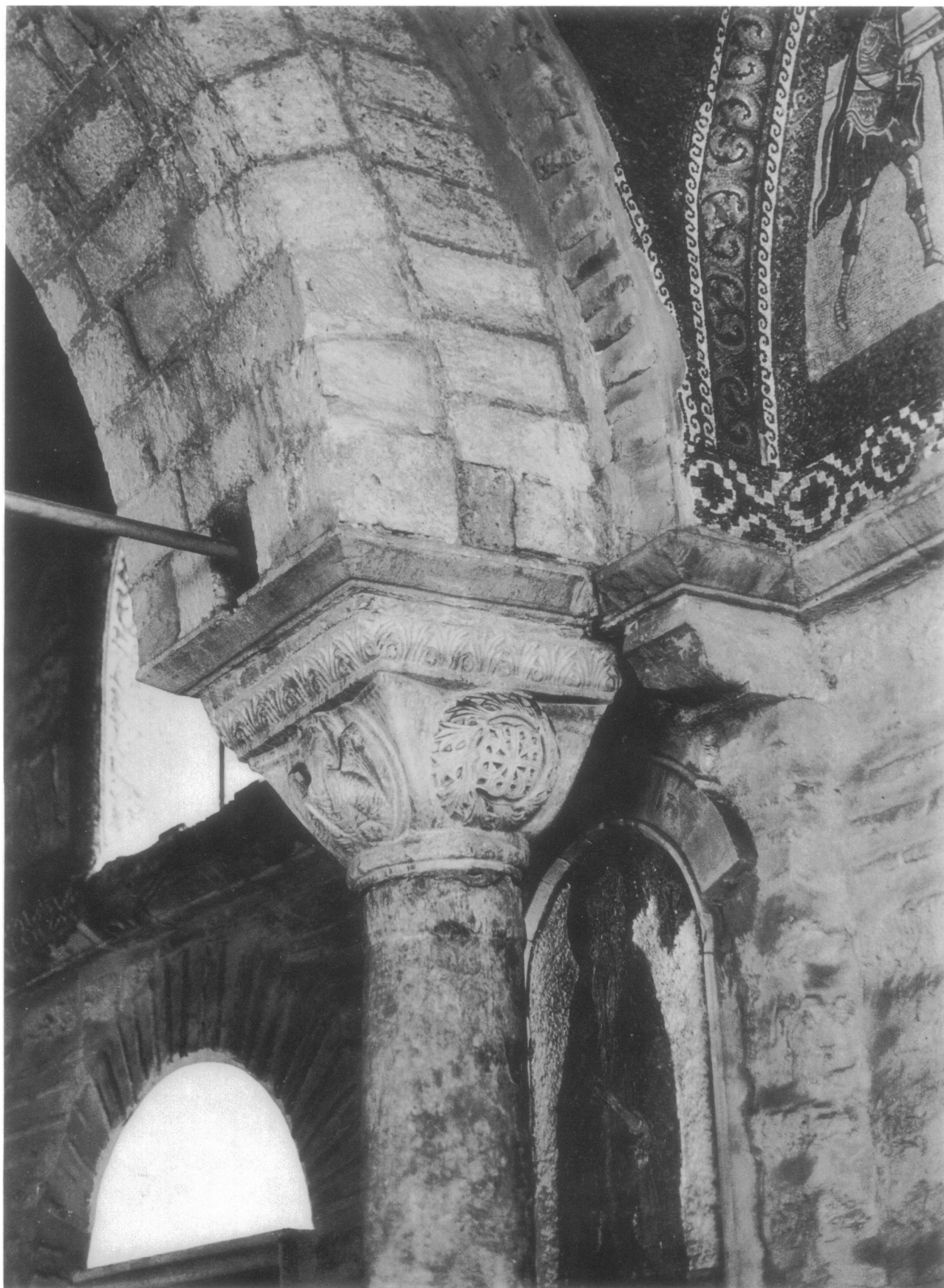




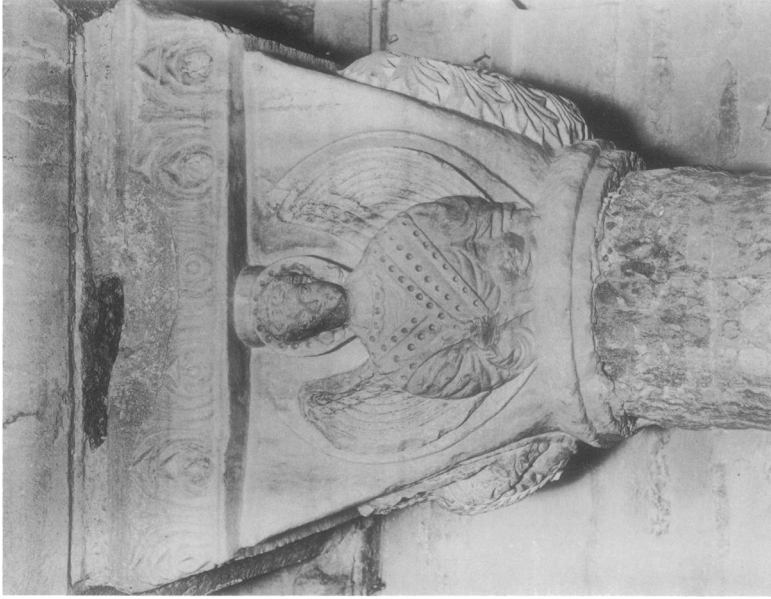
39. Naos. Cornice, detail



40. Inner Narthex. Lintel Over Doorway to Outer Narthex, Bay Seven



41. Kariye Camii, Outer Narthex, Bay Six. Inserted Arch with Angel Capital D



42. Capital A1



43. Capital A2



44. Capital A3

Kariye Camii, Outer Narthex. Angel Capitals



45. Capital B1



46. Capital B2



47. Capital B4

Kariye Camii, Outer Narthex. Angel Capitals





48. Capital C1



49. Capital C2



50. Capital C3

Kariye Camii, Outer Narthex. Angel Capitals



51. Capital D1



52. Capital D2



53. Capital D4

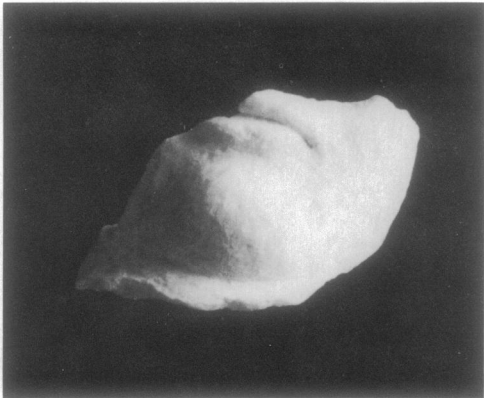
Kariye Camii, Outer Narthex. Angel Capitals



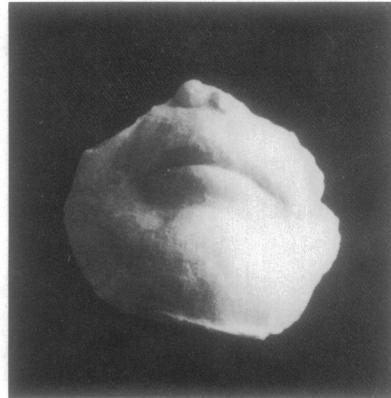
a.



b.

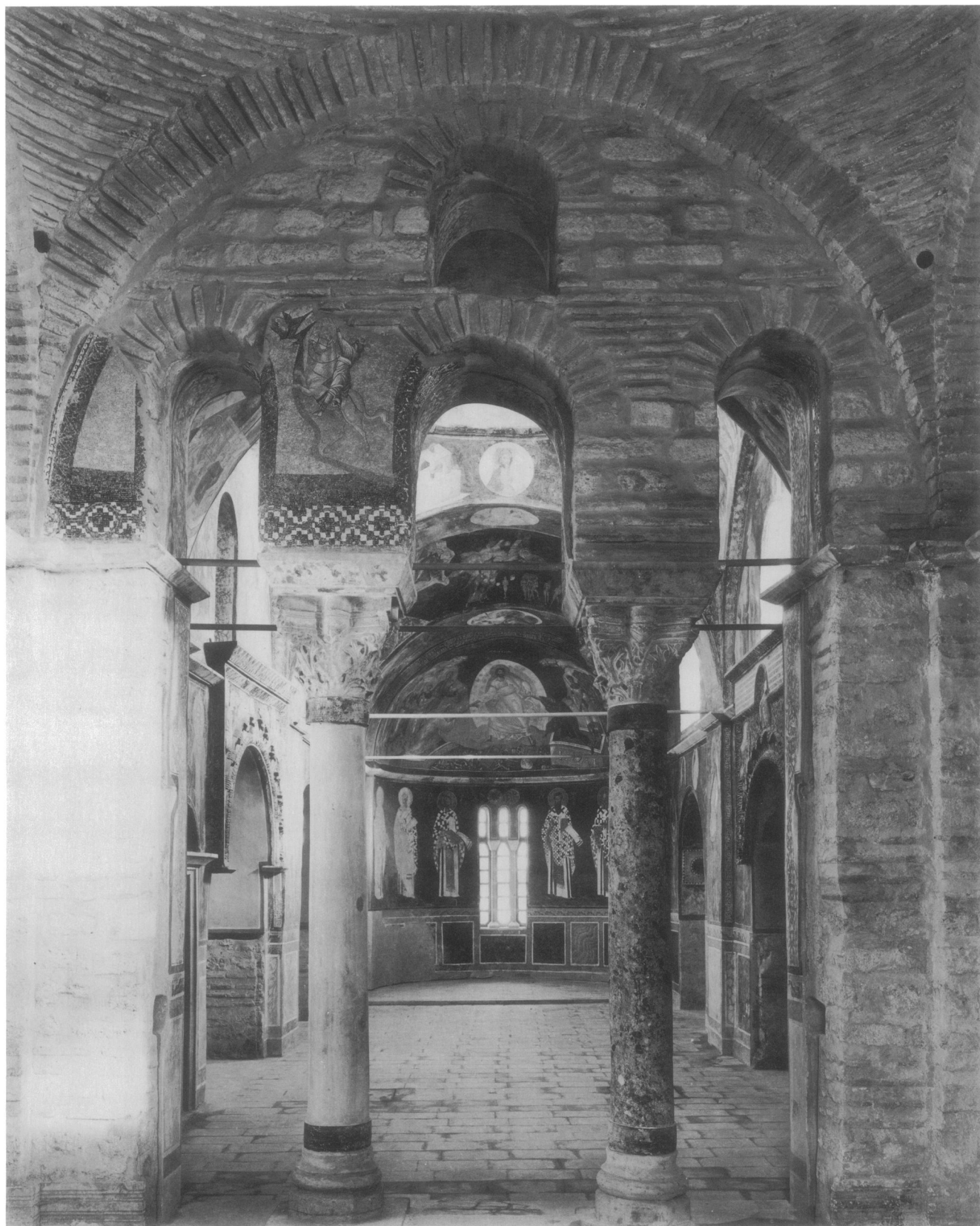


c.



d.

54. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. Fragments from Kariye Camii



55. Kariye Camii, Entrance to Parecclesion, looking East from Outer Narthex





56. Kariye Camii, Parecclesion, Groove in South Wall for Partition Screen



57. North Capital, from West



58. North Capital, from East



59. South Capital, from West



60. South Capital, from East



61. Kariye Camii, Parecclesion, Tomb A





62. Christ

Kariye Camii, Parecclesion, Tomb A



63. Western Impost

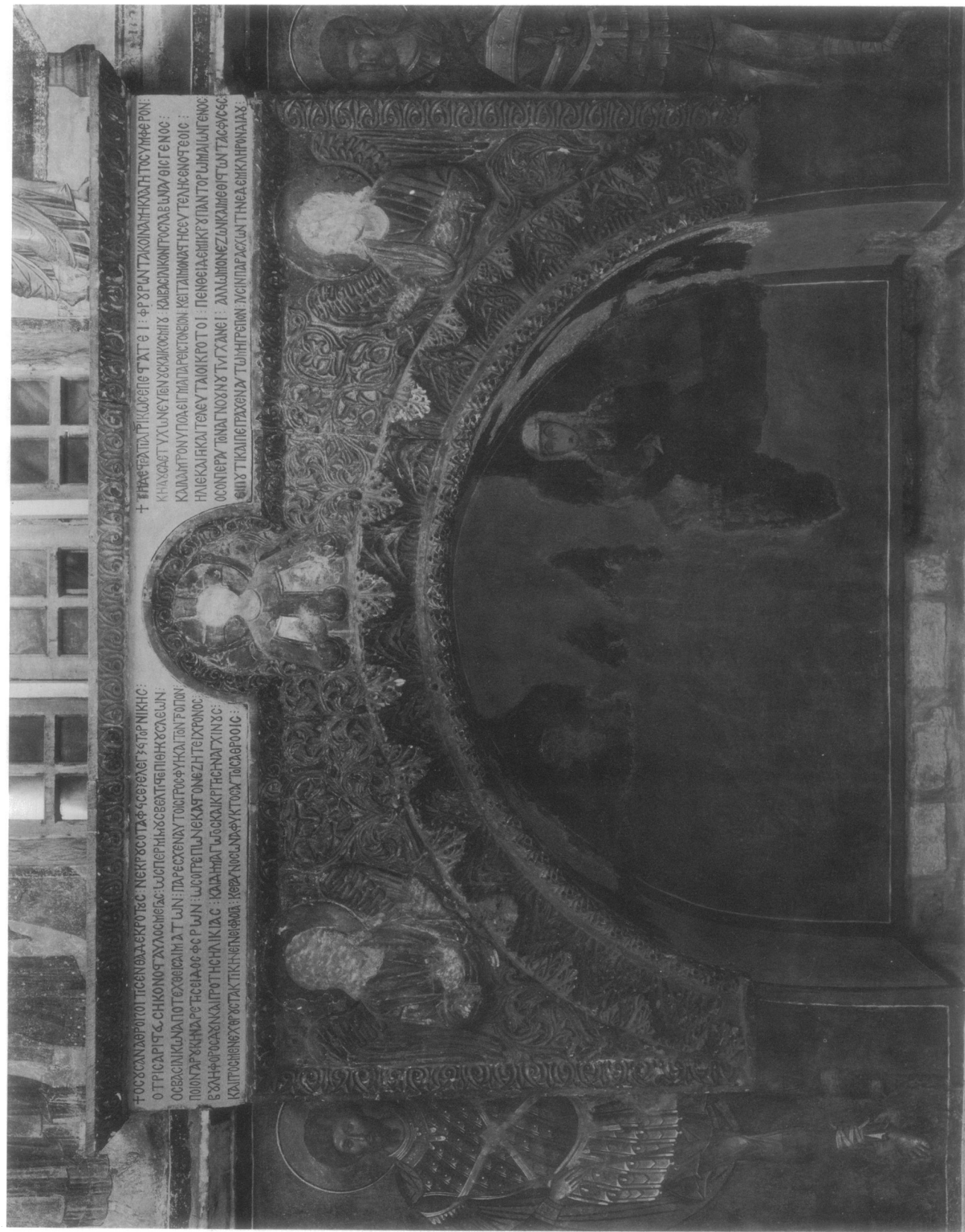


64. Kariye Camii, Parecclesion, Tomb A. The Archangel Michael



65. Kariye Camii, Parecclesion, Tomb A. The Archangel Gabriel





66. Kariye Camii, Parecclesion, Tomb D



67. Kariye Camii, Parecclesion, Tomb D. Christ



68. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. No. 709, Fragment of Marble Facing from Arcosolium Tomb

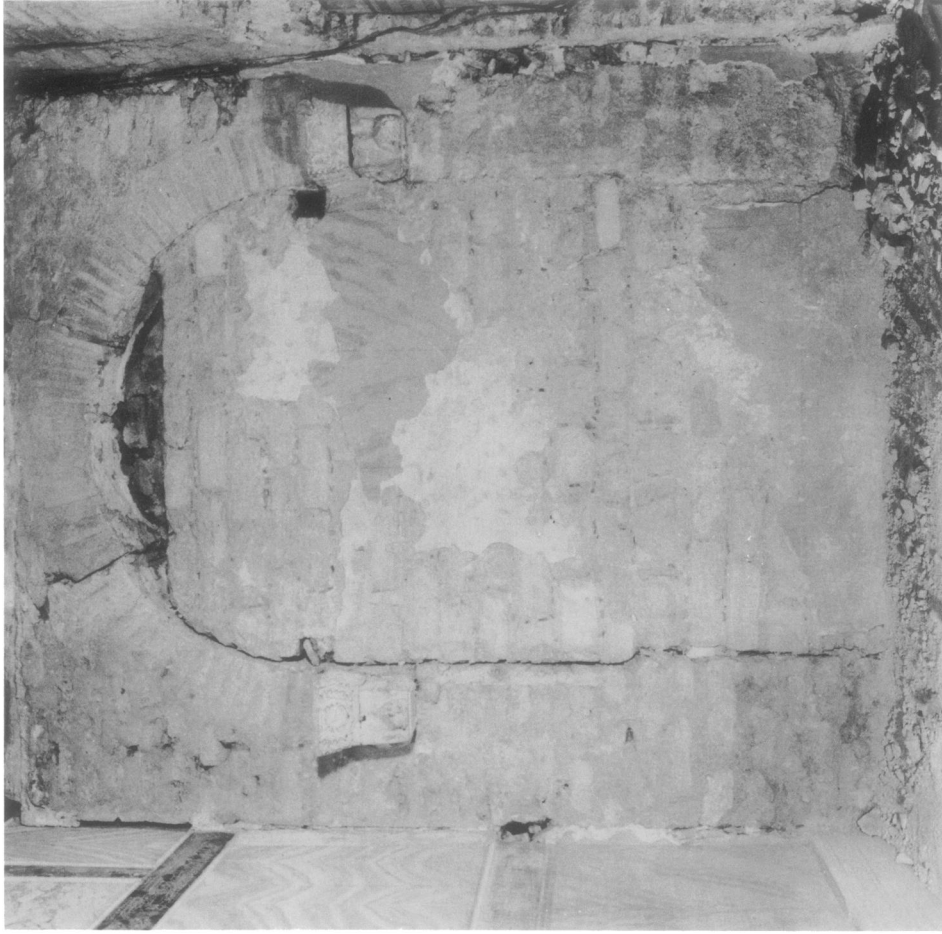




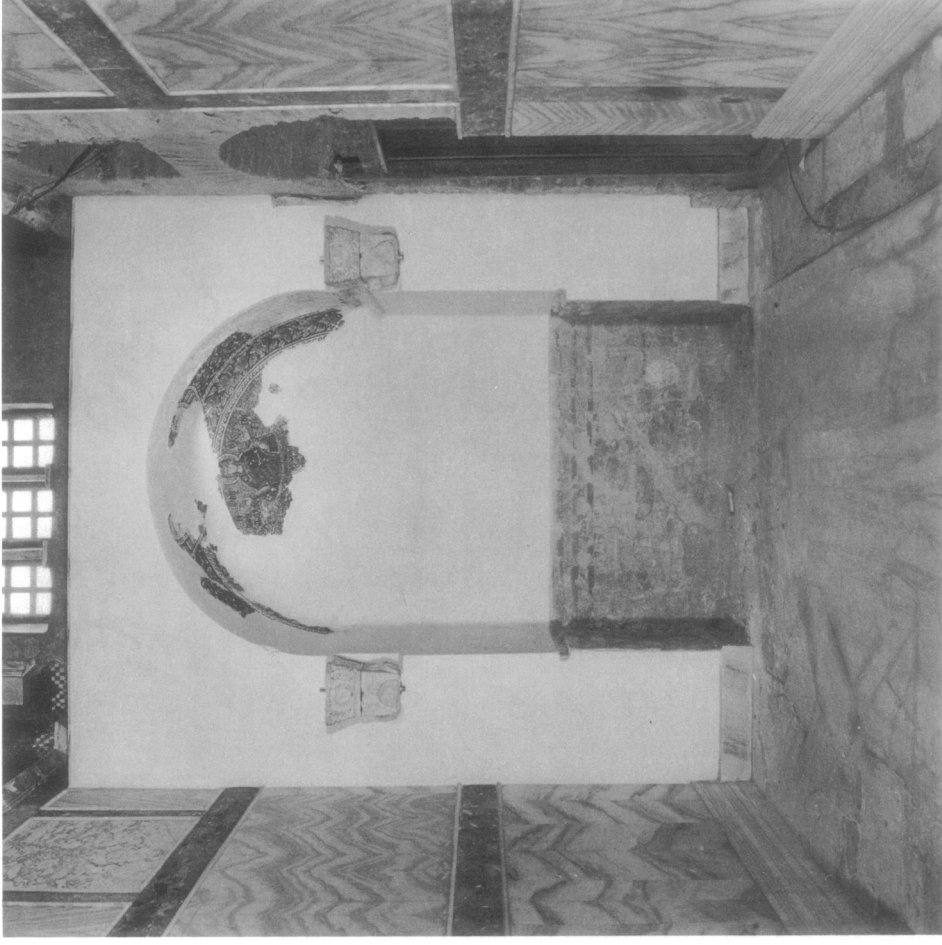
69. Kariye Camii, Parecclesion, Tomb D. Archangel to left



70. Kariye Camii, Parecclesion, Tomb D. Archangel to right



71. After Removal of Marble Revetment



72. After Restoration

Kariye Camii, Inner Narthex, Tomb H





73. Kariye Camii, Inner Narthex, Tomb H. Impost at East Side



74. East Corbel, Front



75. West Corbel, Front



76. East Corbel, Side View

Kariye Camii, Inner Narthex, Tomb H



77. Front



78. East Side, St. Demetrius



79. West Side, Warrior Saint

Kariye Camii, Inner Narthex. Tomb H. East Capital



80. Front



81. East Side



82. West Side

Kariye Camii, Inner Narthex, Tomb H. West Capital





83. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. No. 757, Capital



84. Istanbul, Ayasofya Museum. Capital from Fethiye Camii



85. Muchliotissa. Fragment of Arcosolium Front, detail, Christ



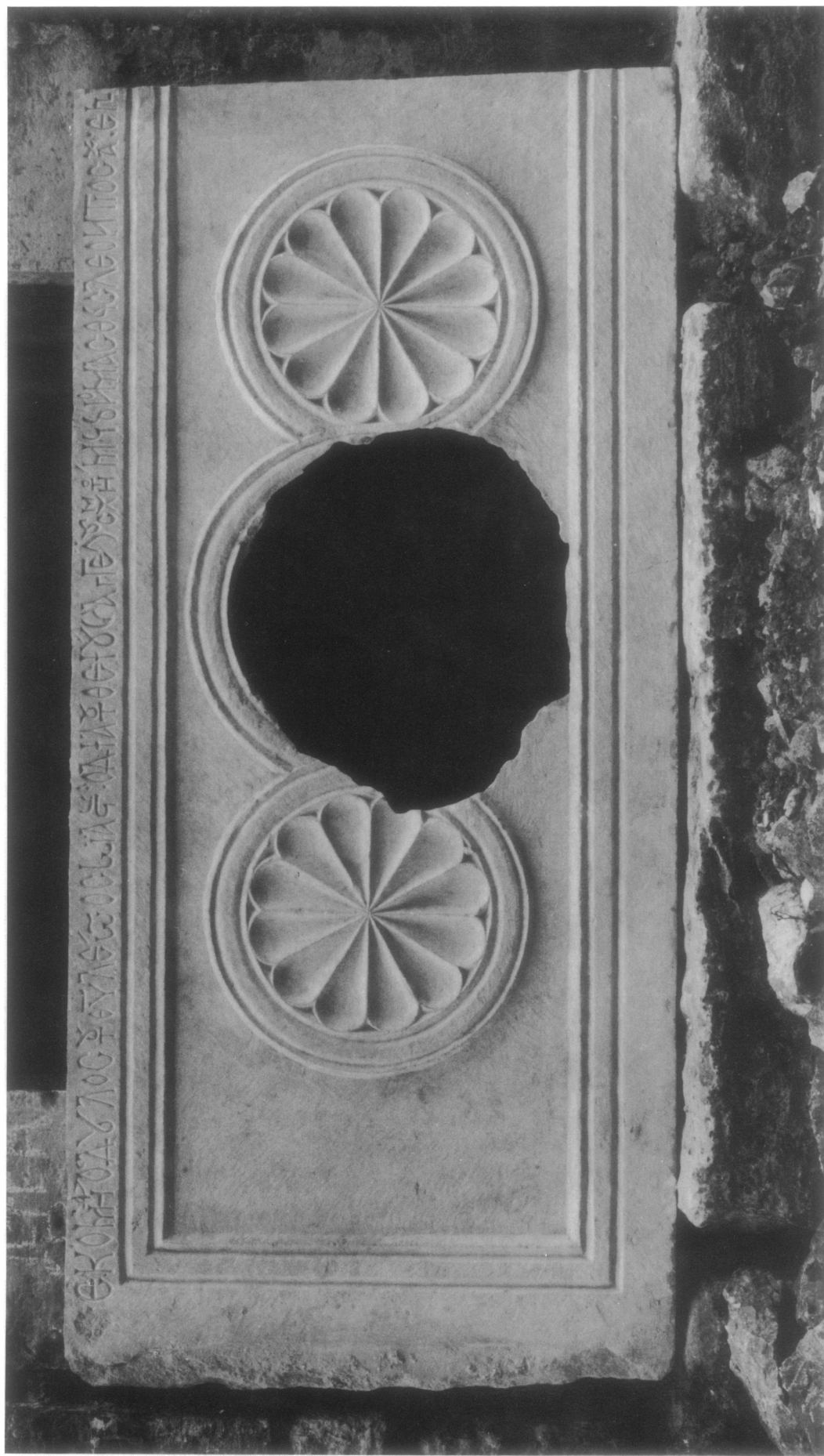
86. Fragment of Entablature with Bust of Apostle  
from Fethiye Camii



87. No. 4570, Archivolt from Fenari Isa Camii, detail



88. Kariye Camii, Parecclesion, Tomb Under Apse



89. Kariye Camii. Sarcophagus Front



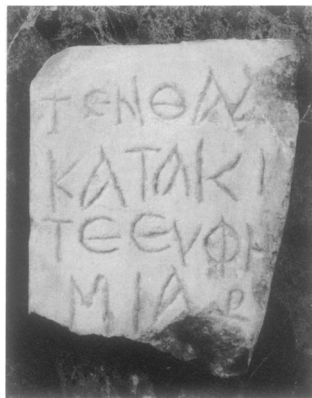


90. Front

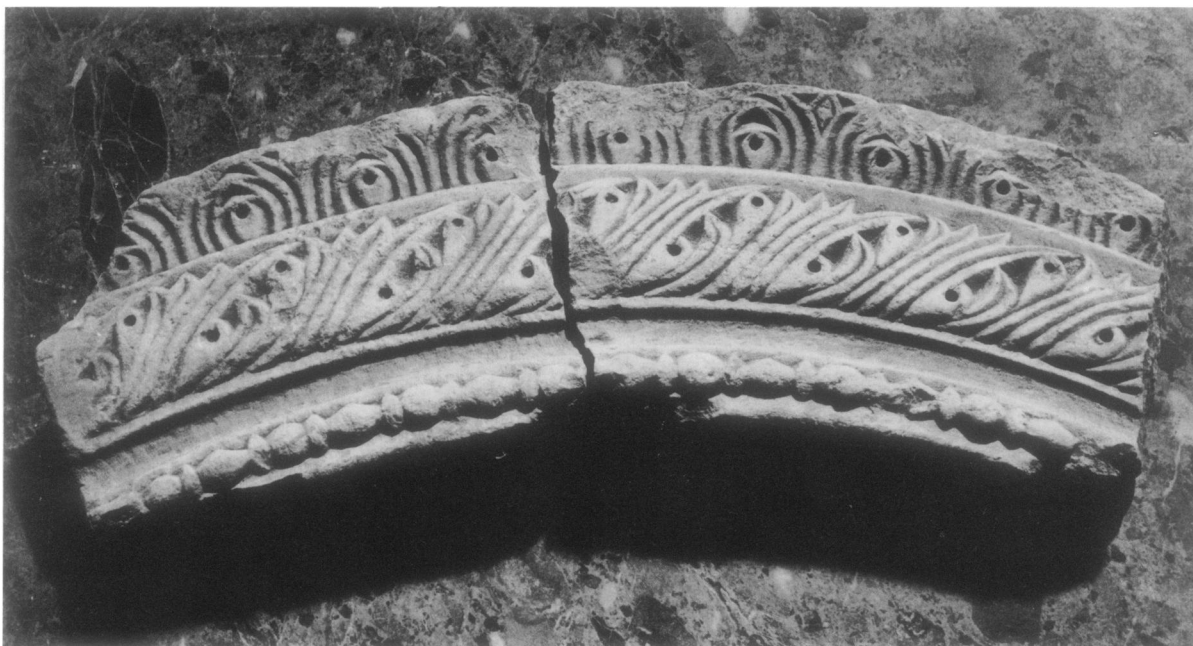


91. Back

Kariye Camii. Fragment of Decorated Slab



92. Fragment with  
Funerary Inscription



93. Fragments of Archivolt



94. Fragments of Closure Slab, Reverse of Figure 93

Kariye Camii



95. Fragment of Sarcophagus Front



96. Fragment of Cornice, Reverse of Figure 95

Kariye Camii





97. Pantokrator, South Church, Nave. Cornice



98. Fragment of Chancel Screen (?)



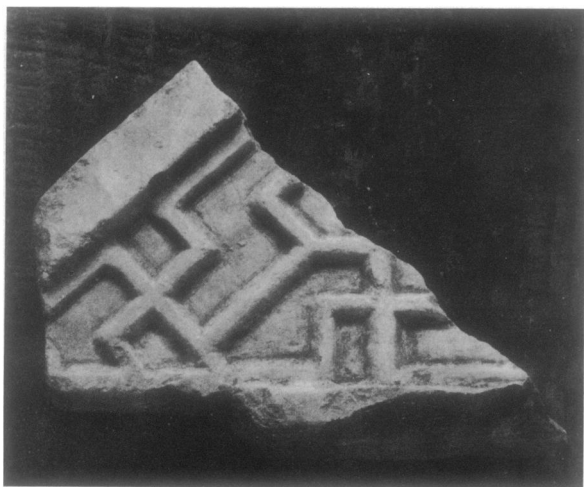
99. Fragment of Border from Chancel Screen (?)



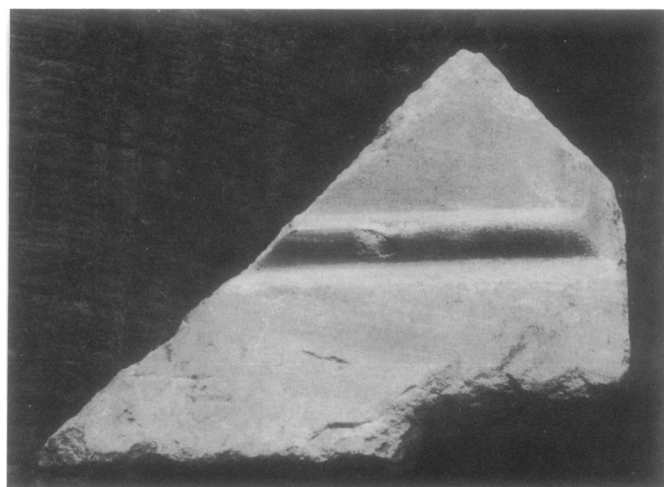
100. Fragment of Archivolt



101. Fragment of Archivolt



102. Obverse



103. Reverse

Fragment of Chancel Screen

Kariye Camii



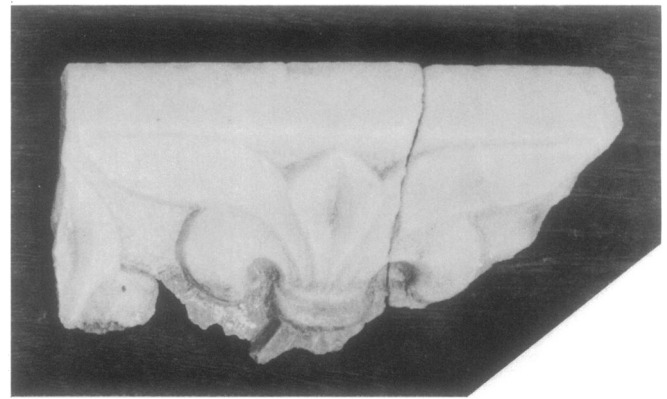
104. Fragment of Screen



105. Fragment of Slab



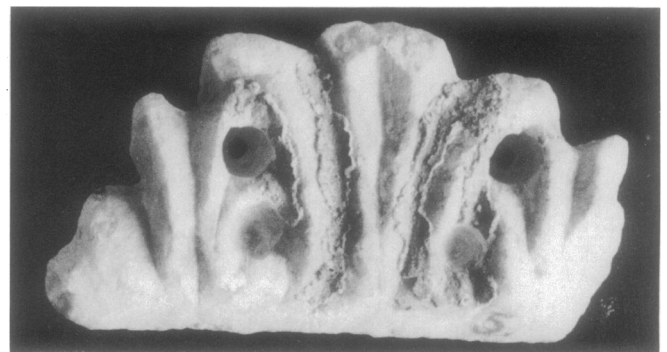
106. Molding with Fleur-de-Lis Motif



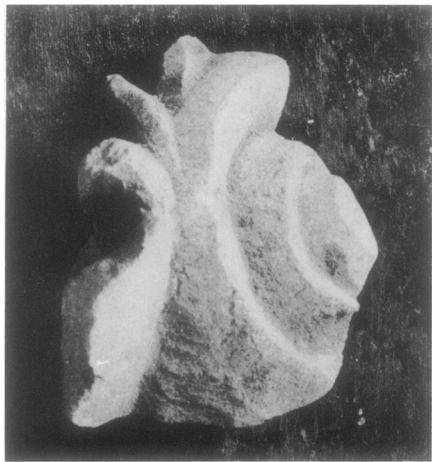
107.



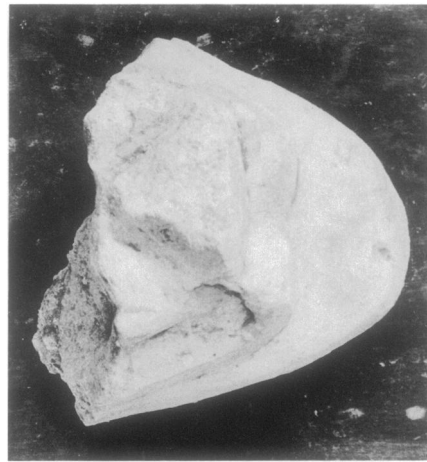
108. Fragment of Acanthus Leaves



109. Fragment of Lotus-Palmette Frieze



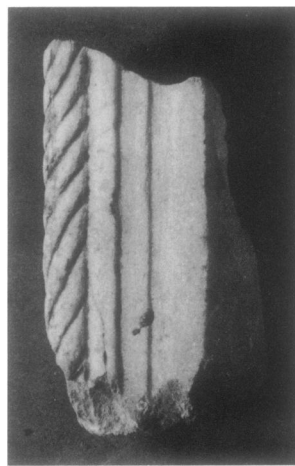
110. Fragment of Capital (?)



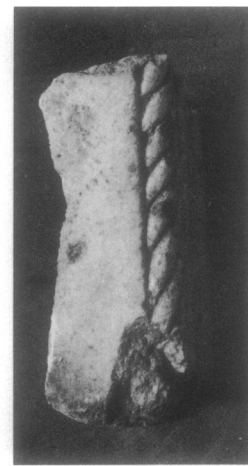
111. Fragment of Capital



112. Fragment of Cornice



a.

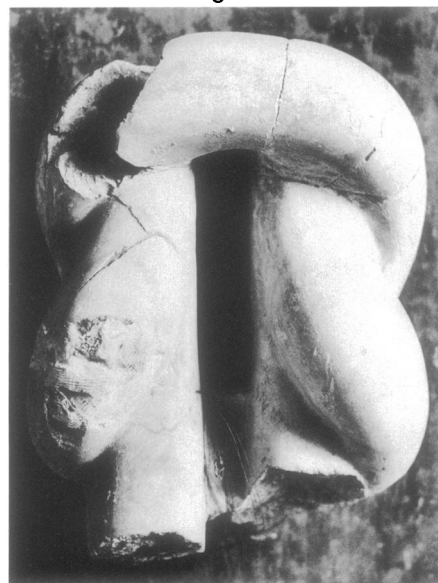


b.

113. Fragment of Post



114.



115.

Colonnette Fragments

Kariye Camii





116. Pantokrator, South Church. Ciborium



117. Kariye Camii. Fragment of  
Colonnette



118. Pantokrator, South Church. Capital



119.



120. Side View

Kariye Camii. Fragment of Colonnette



121. Istanbul, Ayasofya Museum. No. 71.144, Capital



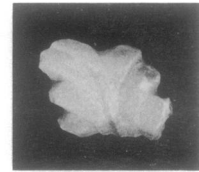
122. Fenari Isa Camii. Fragment of Cornice



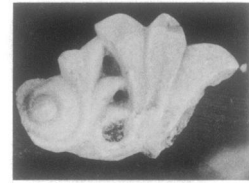


123. Fragment of  
Colonnette  
with Capital

124. Fragments,  
no longer  
accessible



a.



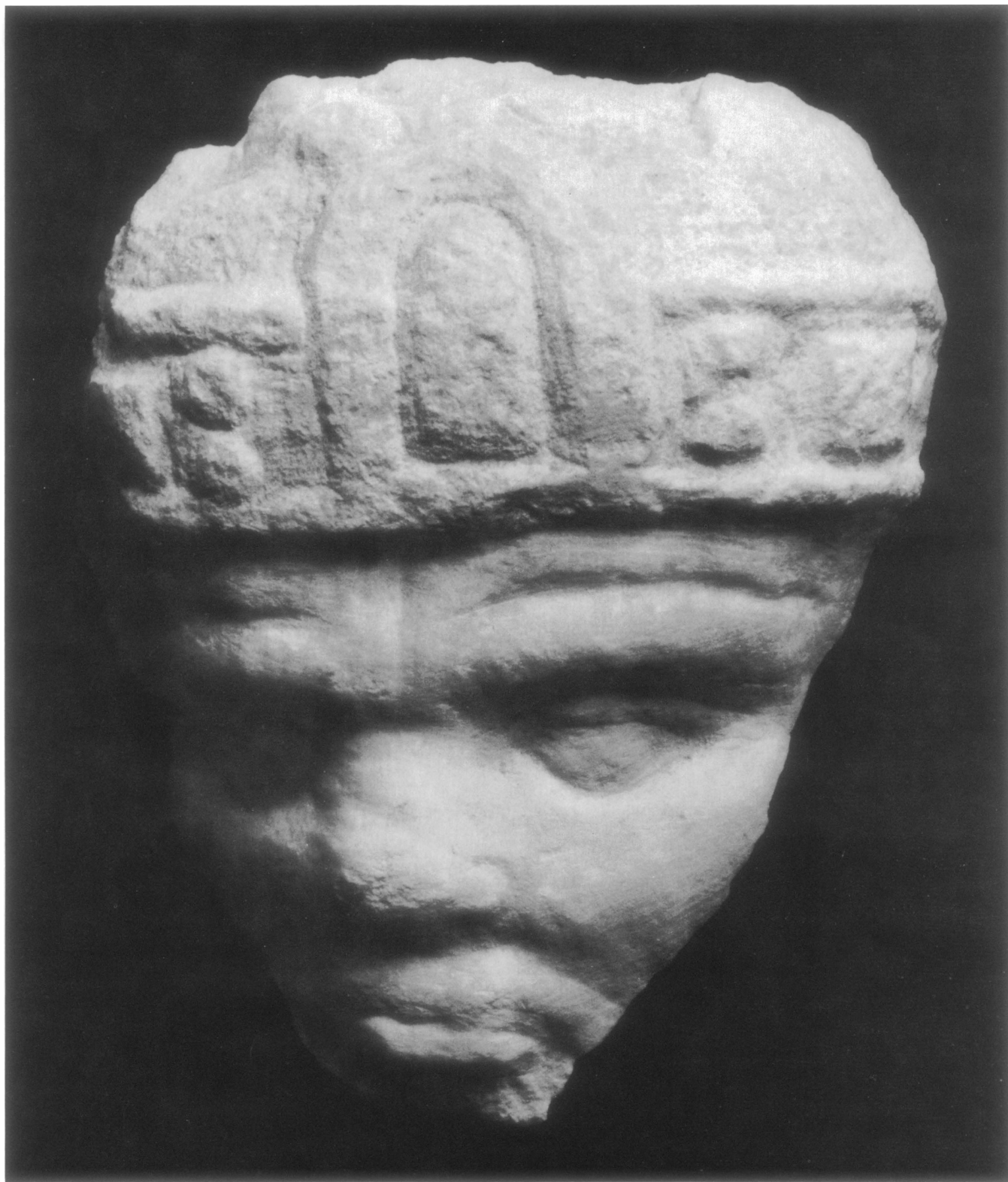
b.



125. Fragment of Head of Angel



126. Fragment of Wing of Angel  
Kariye Camii



127. Istanbul, Ayasofya Museum. No. 71.137, Fragment of Emperor's Head



128. No. 4722, Capital



129. No. 6229, Capital from Bakirköy

Istanbul, Archaeological Museum



130. Fragment of Inlaid Icon



131. Fragment of Relief in Champlévé Technique



133. Corbel with "Okeanos" Head



132. Fragment of Limestone Statuette

The type is known from the sculpted frames around the arcosolium tombs already discussed: Tomb D in the parecclesion (fig. 66), the archivolt with the apostle from Fenari Isa Camii,<sup>226</sup> and a fragment of a related sculptural frame in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul.<sup>227</sup>

The height of the bead, 6.3 cm., corresponds to that of Tomb D, for example, which is 6.6 cm.; this gives us an idea of the original appearance and format. Whereas the beads with twisted leaves on the examples mentioned are joined to the next part of the overall decoration (and also worked up from the same piece of stone), this archivolt, judging from the plain molding with the dentils, was apparently an independent, or at least isolated, part of the decoration.

10. *Fragment of (Chancel) Screen* (figs. 102, 103)

Length: 22.0 cm.

Height: 16.0 cm.

Thickness: 5.7 cm.

The fragment is triangular; in the sunken panel between the moldings, which converge at an acute angle, is a rectilinear geometrical pattern consisting of swastikas whose arms either bend at right angles and continue into the adjacent swastika or are extended alongside the border moldings (fig. 102). The fragment has been trimmed on two of its sides so that the acute-angled termination of the slab has been cut off at right angles; furthermore, there is a notch in the molding at the bottom.

On the reverse (fig. 103) part of a molding has been preserved which shows that the fragment formed the corner of a screen with a wide frame and a light molding around a central panel. There is no clear correspondence between the ornamentation on one side and the moldings on the other. Presumably, it is once again a question of the slab having been reused, in which case the geometrical pattern must have formed the original decoration.

The form of the front side is reminiscent of that familiar from various types of sidepieces for ambos; too little has been preserved here, however, for any clear deduction to be made as to the slab's original function.

The ornamentation is of a type that was developed during the course of the fifth and sixth centuries, when it appeared as a characteristic part of the decoration of slabs of various kinds and, in particular, choir-screen panels. Similarly joined swastikas can be seen, for example, on a choir-screen panel from S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, dating from the sixth century,<sup>228</sup> and on examples from Thebes.<sup>229</sup> A sixth-century date may also tentatively be suggested for this fragment.

<sup>226</sup> Macridy, "Monastery of Lips," figs. 33, 34; Belting, "Zur Skulptur," figs. 1a, b.

<sup>227</sup> Inv. no. 4273; cf. Belting, "Zur Skulptur," 75, fig. 13.

<sup>228</sup> Angiolini Martinelli, *op. cit.*, no. 133.

<sup>229</sup> Soteriou, *ΑΙ χριστιανικαί Θήβαι*, figs. 99, 100.



11. *Fragment of Screen with Foliate Motif* (fig. 104)

Height: 17.0 cm.

Width: 11.0 cm.

Thickness: 5.0 cm.

The fragment is probably part of the lowermost section of a chancel-screen slab. Still preserved is part of the wide, flat frame with a slight molding. Above this a tripetal flower springs from a broad-leafed plant. Parts of a few corresponding leaves are preserved above, giving the impression that the flower may have been encircled by a verticil of leaves.

It is possible that the slab at some time lodged in a wall of some type; on the reverse side are traces of a reddish mortar.

This type of ornamentation was not uncommon in the sixth century. A more comprehensive fragment of a chancel-screen slab with flowers (rosettes) and leaf verticils in a related form is known from St. Euphemia, and is dated to the first half of the sixth century.<sup>230</sup> A wholly concordant conception of the flowers can be seen on the back of a sarcophagus in S. Apollinare in Classe near Ravenna (here only four-lobed).<sup>231</sup> The fragment may be dated to the sixth century.

12. *Fragment of Slab with Foliate Decoration* (fig. 105)

Height: 23.0 cm.

Width: 13.5 cm.

Thickness: 3.2 cm.

A leafstalk is entwined around an ivylike leaf. The nerves of the leaf are clearly indicated as convex projections between incised lines. The leafstalk branches out at two points, at the bottom as a spiral tendril.

The carving is rather crude; tool marks are clearly visible.

13. *Molding with Fleur-de-Lis Motif* (fig. 106)

Height: 10.2 cm.

Width: 12.7 cm.

Thickness: 3.2 cm.

Preserved below a plain projecting border is the greater part of a fleur-de-lis, of which the background plane is at an angle to the border. The fragment must, therefore, have belonged originally to the frame surrounding (in all likelihood) a relief, similar for example, to the canopy over the Hodegetria mosaic in the nave or the sculptural facings on the arcosolium tombs in the parecclesion.

Together with this fragment was found a smaller piece, which supplements the one reproduced here in such a way that the upper part of the leaf ornament

<sup>230</sup> Naumann and Belting, *op. cit.* (note 206 *supra*), 77f., pl. 13d.

<sup>231</sup> Valenti Zucchini and Bucci, *op. cit.* (note 219 *supra*), no. 32, fig. 32d.



was complete. I have not been able to locate the missing piece, but it has been added to the existing fragment in a photograph of various fragments found during restoration work in 1957 (fig. 107).

The fragment is robustly modeled and boldly carved without any particular finish. The planes are set at clear angles to one another. The fleur-de-lis motif and the carving are closely related to the ornamentation on the frame of the Christ Emmanuel relief at Muchliotissa.<sup>232</sup>

14. *Fragment of Acanthus Leaves* (fig. 108)

Height: *ca.* 8.0 cm.

Width: 18.0 cm.

Thickness: 7.6 cm.

The piece preserved represents the middle section of large acanthus leaves of the type that is well known from the parecclesion tombs and the canopy above the Hodegetria mosaic. A leaf lobe is bent forward at the tip and is supported by two smaller ones on either side.

However, the fragment depicts a slightly different version from that which appears on Tombs A and D; the modeling is softer and fuller, and the piece is therefore probably pre-Palaeologan.

15. *Fragment of Lotus-Palmette Frieze* (fig. 109)

Height: 6.0 cm.

Length: 11.1 cm.

The fragment, which was transferred to the Ayasofya Museum, is marked at the bottom right in red: "5," and on the reverse: "Kariye 575." It probably represents the lower part of a cornice with a lotus-palmette decoration. Preserved is the beginning of a lotus with parts of a palmette on either side. Where the palmette adjoins the central ornament the spaces between the leaves have been marked with a drill, at the bottom merely by depressions but above by a drill hole.

The fragment still bears traces of gesso and gilt.

16. *Fragment of Capital (?)* (fig. 110)

Height: 7.45 cm.

Width: 5.5 cm.

Thickness: 4.0 cm.

Only one-half of this helical leaf ornament has been preserved. The right-hand side is twisted in the shape of a snail shell; the corresponding twist on the left-hand side of the central axis has broken off. There is a drill hole here, extending deep into the fragment; it was probably made to affix a broken

<sup>232</sup> Hjort, *op. cit.* (note 106 *supra*), figs. 1, 6; Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, fig. 37-15.

section in place with a dowel, though it appears to be unnecessarily large for this purpose.

The fragment is possibly part of the volute of a capital below an abacus corner.

17. *Fragment of Capital* (fig. 111)

Height: 11.5 cm.

Length: 15.5 cm.

Width: 14.5 cm.

This fragment of the corner of a capital, of which the abacus slab projects considerably, corresponds in size more or less to the capitals in the parecclesion and is of the same type. But the projection of the abacus in relation to the leaf formation in two places on the corner is unusual (fig. 111: the view is from below).

Even though the abacus is not molded, the fragment corresponds largely to the type mentioned in connection with the capitals in the parecclesion.<sup>233</sup> A parallel to the unusual projection of the abacus can be seen in a capital from Konya.<sup>234</sup>

18. *Fragment of Cornice* (fig. 112)

Height: ca. 12.0 cm.

Width: ca. 19.0 cm.

Depth: ca. 22.0 cm.

The fragment comes from a cornice with a rich decorative system; at the bottom is a row of dentils, above which runs a bead-and-reel molding as a base for an acanthus frieze. Of the acanthus the middle stalk and the beginning of two leaf lobes have been preserved. The bottom leaves are softly rounded toward the adjacent pendants. The upper surface of the fragment is rough-hewn.

This is a fragment of a corner arrangement for a pillar, pilaster, or the like. The sides with the row of dentils lie at right angles to one another, and the bead-and-reel molding changes direction twice, each time at right angles, providing a base for the corner projection. The molding, in what presumably must have been the inside (bottom right) corner, is rough, crude work compared with the carving on the rest of the fragment.

19. *Fragment of Post* (figs. 113a–b)

Length: 17.5 cm.

Width: 8.0 cm.

Thickness: 7.5 cm.

<sup>233</sup> Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien*, pl. 14, nos. 184, 195.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 18, no. 251.

The sides of the fragment are smoothly polished, and the endpiece is correspondingly neatly carved with two sunken moldings and a rope ornament on one corner. The fragment could have originated from a small post or endpiece of a screen, possibly from a templon. The meticulous finish and the rope ornament, which is identical to the corresponding decoration around the joint for the twin shafts on the capital under the canopy in the nave, might be an indication that what we have here is a fragment of Kariye Camii's templon.

20. *Colonnnette Fragments* (figs. 114, 115)

A number of fragments of colonnettes that are oval in section have been preserved. It has been presumed that they stem from the twin colonnettes which originally framed the mosaic icons on both sides of the apse.<sup>235</sup> There are small variations in the individual shafts, which measure, in section, between  $5.4 \times 6.0$  cm. and  $5.2 \times 5.9$  cm. It was possible to assemble some of the fragments, which then formed two knots *ca.* 25.0 cm. in height; one of these was mounted experimentally by Ernest Hawkins on the right-hand side of the Hodegetria mosaic (fig. 26). The remounted capital has fittings on its underside for a twin capital framed by a rope ornament, just as the corbel below has an irregular oval depression on the top indicating where it was joined to the twin colonnettes.

It was presumed that all the fragments of colonnettes that are oval in section must stem from the original templon arrangement. If, however, one examines once again the picture of the Hodegetria mosaic showing the provisional hanging of the one reef knot, it is apparent that the fragment is proportionately too large in relation to its surroundings, i.e., the mosaic, the corbels, the capital, and the canopy above. There is a striking difference in quality between the delicate pierced work in the canopy (and the capital), which, after all, the twin colonnettes were supposed to support, and the full, soft, almost puffed-up character of the knot. The overall character is comparable to that of the twin colonnettes on the ciborium in the Pantokrator (fig. 116).

A closer examination of the dimensions reveals that the assembled reef knots and the colonnette fragments belonging to them cannot have had this placement. The distance between the colonnettes in the knot is *ca.* 3.0 cm.; all in all, for two shafts plus intercolumniation, we have a width of *ca.* 14.0 cm. (including the knot, a total width of *ca.* 19.0 cm.) and a depth of 6.0 cm. The oval depression in the corbel, however, measures no more than  $9.5 \times 4.0$ , and the fitting on the underside of the capital *ca.*  $10.0 \times 5.5$  cm. Furthermore, it can be seen from the fitting of the capital with its encircling rope ornament that it has been calculated for twin shafts placed so close that they actually touched one another, or so that the intercolumniation has been reduced to the absolute minimum (fig. 28c); this is in marked contrast to the intercolumniation of *ca.* 3.0 cm. indicated by the knots.

<sup>235</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 229; Belting, "Konstantinopol'skaja kapitel'," 153.

The general characteristics of the colonnettes would seem to be more typical of the twelfth century; at any rate, they have no place at all in the fourteenth-century templon arrangement.

21. *Fragment of Colonnnette or Post with Capital* (fig. 117)

Total height: 23.0 cm.

Height of capital, incl. base molding and abacus: 18.0 cm.

Width: 10.5 cm.

Diameter of colonnette: 9.3 cm.

The shaft and capital of the colonnette are in one piece. The capital is decorated on two sides only—the front and the right-hand side, as shown in the illustration—whereas the left-hand side has been left plain and the back has a large fracture surface which shows that the capital and colonnette were originally one piece joined to a screen slab or the like.

There are two drill holes at the top of the capital. One of them, which is approximately centered, is now closed with mortar, while the other is placed at the very rear and goes partly into the surface of the fracture. Here there are faint traces of rust. A railing was mounted on the top of the slab and the capital, and it would be reasonable to assume that what has been preserved here is part of a chancel screen or a templon.

The well-known lotus-acanthus motif, which here has been given a more slender and elongated form as a result of the shape of the capital, is the same on the two decorated sides. The acanthus leaf on the corner is “folded” around the edge on its central axis. On the right-hand side the lowermost cusped leaves are marked by drill holes; this is not the case on the front. Furthermore, there are faint traces of color, both on the background and at the bottom of the concave indentations in the leaves.

The carving in general is quite crude and imprecise. The surface has not been smoothed but shows tool marks.

The capital can be dated by stylistic comparison with related capitals and cornices in the Pantokrator complex (fig. 118) to the first half of the twelfth century.<sup>236</sup> It is therefore possible that the fragment may have belonged to the templon arrangement in the “Phase 4” church.

22. *Fragment of Octagonal Colonnnette with Capital* (figs. 119, 120)

Total height: 30.0 cm.

Height of capital: 20.0 cm.

Width: ca. 15.0 cm.

This is a badly damaged and battered fragment of a capital whose carved surfaces and corners have been rounded by many blows. A fracture at an angle on one side has removed a large piece of the capital at the top.

<sup>236</sup> Megaw, “Notes, 342, 344.”

The octagonal colonnette continues straight up into the capital without any transition. Despite the bad break at the top it is still possible to see a drill hole in the upper side, indicating that a beam or railing was mounted on the top of it.

The decoration of the capital is divided roughly into two zones. Around the colonnette at the bottom lies a wreath of leaves, four in all, which "grow" up around the corners in such a manner that the tips of the leaves are vaulted in toward each other in the middle of the sides of the capital. Below the open area between lobed leaves is a drill hole.

The uppermost of the acanthuslike leaves on the corners is concealed beneath the decoration in the upper zone of the capital. At this point, on each corner, there is a concave, vaguely heart-shaped roundel that is "folded" around the corner. Each roundel contains a heavily lobed leaf that is also "folded" around the corner, five lobes spreading out to either side.

Despite the poor state of preservation it can be seen that the original quality of the carving was by no means poor; the surface treatment shows a varied and precise finish. At the same time the composition of the capital and the conception of its individual details seem to indicate that it was derived from older types, a process which has resulted in a few misunderstandings. For example, this must be the explanation of the somewhat unmotivated drill holes at the bottom of the capital sides, which look like reproductions of the deep-set, shadowed holes that are created when the lowermost lobes of the two leaves meet. This can often be seen on capitals (or reproductions of capitals) in small format.<sup>237</sup> But the unharmonious transition between the two zones on the capital also points to a derivation and an unsuccessful attempt to combine different motifs.

It is perhaps possible to form an impression of the way this unusual motif has developed by studying a remarkable capital from Hagia Moni in Naulion.<sup>238</sup> From the leaf lobes turned outward from a centrally placed palm, two multifoiled leaves hang by slender tendrils. If these leaves are moved out to the sides one obtains a disposition of motifs that is quite closely related to those on the fragment in Kariye Camii. Incidentally, it may be noted that the leaf motif at the bottom around the drill holes is a detail that appears in a very similar version in some fragments of an archivolt (*supra*, p. 267 f., figs. 93–94).

The date is probably early twelfth century.

### 23. *Gessoed and Painted Capital* (fig. 121)

Height: 20.0 cm.

Width at top: 20.3 and 18.5 cm.

Diameter at base: 15.5 cm.

<sup>237</sup> This is very characteristic in the small reproductions of capitals on ivory reliefs: cf. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.* (note 40 *supra*), II, pl. LI, nos. 142–45; or a relief in San Marco: cf. Grabar, *Sculptures*, II, no. 73, pl. XLIX.

<sup>238</sup> Grabar, *Sculptures*, II, no. 48, pl. XXXIIC.

This capital, formerly Ayasofya Museum no. 637, has been transferred to the Archaeological Museum (no. 71.144); it was found in the tomb in the apse of the parecclesion (cf. fig. 88 and p. 264f.) under a decorated tomb slab with an inscription. A chip of the capital was found in a vault under the parecclesion.

The capital is slightly trapezoidal. The corners have been cut off, and each is decorated with a palmette surmounted by a leaf ornament. On each of the four sides of the capital a Latin cross is framed by the leaf ornamentation spreading from the corners. The arms of the crosses have an indentation on either side of the middle rib. The foot of the cross divides, and the branches join the corner palmettes on either side.

The cut corners give the capital an octagonal base. In the middle of the underside is a hole just over 3 cm. deep, with a diameter of 5.6 cm.; it may be deduced that the capital surmounted an octagonal post or colonnette, possibly in a templon arrangement. As can be seen from the measurements, the capital is not entirely rectangular, but is somewhat wider than it is deep.

The capital is gessoed and painted in red and gold on three sides. The background is red, and the base, the crosses, and the corner palmettes are gilded. The back is unpainted. On the sides adjacent to the back the corner palmettes, and likewise the bases under them, are only painted yellow.

The capital is badly damaged at the bottom; one corner is missing entirely, and the rest is a reassembly of four fragments.

It is evident that the distinctive paint, including gilding, indicates a placement of the capital in a context such as a templon. However, it is unique among the preserved sculpture from the church, and it is not possible to demonstrate with certainty the existence of fragments that might have formed part of the same templon beyond the slab (*supra*, p. 266f., figs. 90, 91), whose originally decorated side has many points in common with the capital.

Of interest is the cross motif, with its middle rib, two moldings, and divided base, of which each branch joins the adjacent palmette, and which is surmounted by another leaf ornament. The elementary combination of cross and palmette of precisely the type we have here can be seen on the tenth-century cornice from Fenari Isa Camii (fig. 122).<sup>239</sup> And the whole decorative system is also to be found in a closely related version on some of the capitals on the mullions of the north wall in the north church.<sup>240</sup> The corner motifs are not pure palmettes (though the form is related to stylized palmettes), and the cross is not joined to them but branches out into a separate motif. The general conception, however, is the same.<sup>241</sup>

It may be claimed that the carving on the capital from Kariye Camii does not possess the sharpness and precision that is so characteristic of the sculpture in Fenari Isa Camii, but this impression is to a certain extent bound up

<sup>239</sup> C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "Additional Notes," *DOP*, 18 (1964), fig. 15.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 23; Grabar, *Sculptures*, I, pl. 1, 4.

<sup>241</sup> See a capital with related but simplified motif at Bursa: Grabar, *Sculptures*, II, no. 14, pl. xb. Cf. fragments from Kurşunlu monastery: C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, "Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara," *DOP*, 27 (1973), 258, figs. 121, 122.



with the fact that the capital has been gessoed and painted. In this connection it is worth noting that a considerable amount of the sculpture from Fenari Isa Camii is also painted in a similar way; the ornament on the lowest cornice, for instance, is painted red against a blue background.<sup>242</sup>

The possibility exists that the capital represents a thirteenth-century copy of a tenth-century type, but the circumstances in which the find was made do not support this. On the basis of close similarities to the sculpture in Fenari Isa Camii the capital may be dated to the tenth century.

24. *Fragment of Colonnnette Capital* (fig. 123)

Height: *ca.* 15.0 cm.

Preserved at the top of this fragment of an octagonal colonnette is part of the capital, both carved out of one piece with a fillet marking the transition. Part of the leaf ornamentation on the capital is preserved.

25–26. *Other Fragments* (figs. 124a–b)

During restoration work in 1957 some of the finds were assembled and photographed. A number of these fragments have already been discussed, while others have been placed in their original context and discussed in that connection (the angel heads from the capitals in the narthex, the end-piece with a representation of a bird belonging to the cornice over the main door in the nave). There are two other small fragments which can no longer be traced in the storeroom of the church and which will therefore merely be pointed out: 1. a small piece of a bent acanthus leaf (fig. 124a) of the same type, and perhaps from the same archivolt, as another fragment (fig. 100); 2. an acanthuslike leaf twisted into the shape of a conch shell (fig. 124b), whose leaf tips touch a palmette-shaped leaf ornament. The conch-shell form is related to another fragment (fig. 108), and is possibly from an over-bent acanthus leaf. It may come from a capital or a cornice.

B. FRAGMENTS OF FIGURAL SCULPTURE

1. *Fragment of Head of Angel* (fig. 125)

Height: 8.0 cm.

Width: 14.0 cm.

Max. thickness: 4.7 cm.

This head, formerly Ayasofya Museum no. 577, now Archaeological Museum no 71.138, is seen in profile turned to the right. The horizontal break runs straight over the eye and the root of the nose, and otherwise lies at right angles to the fracture surface at the rear where the head has been separated from the background. A chip has been knocked off the chin and the lower lip is

<sup>242</sup> Mango and Hawkins, "Report on Field Work," 307.

missing, thereby giving a somewhat misleading idea of the original facial expression.

The eye is enclosed within an eyelid and a fold of skin, both of which are precisely indicated. The pupil is marked by a drill hole.

The nose is pointed and slightly bent. The wing of the nose and the line from the nose to the corner of the mouth are marked. Despite the flatness of the relief the nose has been cut free from the background: both the nasal septum and the innermost nostril are reproduced, and the bridge of the nose is carved free the whole way from the tip to the innermost corner of the eye. In order to achieve this in very low relief the artist has had to turn the whole nose slightly outward.

The cheekbone, cheek, and chin are modeled as one coherent, almost flat expanse. The ear is covered by locks of hair which are individually and precisely carved. At the rear, toward the neck, there is an unfinished section.

The whole fragment is characterized by the smoothness of its surface and the crispness of its carving, rougher in the hair than on the face.

The fragment obviously comes from the front of an arcosolium. The crisp, dry carving is strongly similar to Tombs A and D in the parecclesion. The heads of the figures on the tombs are turned at an angle to the background plane that corresponds very well to that indicated here by the way the nose is sculpted on the other side of the bridge. It is possible that the head may belong to the archangel Gabriel to the left of Christ, either on Tomb A or Tomb D. However, the fracture surfaces are so imprecise, both on the fronts of the arcosolia and on the fragment itself, that this cannot be determined with certainty.<sup>243</sup> Moreover, the format is not wholly in accordance, and the bluish grey veins in the Proconnesian marble on the back of the fragment do not coincide with the corresponding fracture surfaces on the tombs, where the marble is whiter and the texture is somewhat different.

There can scarcely be any doubt that the fragment is more or less contemporaneous with the arcosolium tombs in the parecclesion, but it must have belonged to one of the other tombs in the church. Tomb H is a possibility.

## 2. *Fragment of Wing of Angel* (fig. 126)

Height: 15.5 cm.

Width: 11.0 cm.

Max. thickness: 5.2 cm.

The fragment is part of a left-hand, inverted (?) wing. Three layers of feathers are terraced, one on the top of the next. The individual feathers have softly rounded tips, and center ribs are indicated. At the top left a portion of the background has been preserved.

The wing is of a somewhat different type from that which can be seen on the parecclesion arcosolia. The curvature does not coincide well with the position

<sup>243</sup> Ernest Hawkins informs me that he has also attempted a placement of the fragment in the places mentioned, without luck. I am indebted to the late Bay Feridun Dirimtekin, who gave permission to remove the fragment from the Museum with a view to a trial of this kind.

in which the angels are shown there; on the other hand, the thickness of the relief corresponds to a parapet of a similar kind, and it is probable that it originates from an arcosolium front. The measurements reveal that the wing and the preceding head cannot be fragments of the same angel.

3. *Fragment of Head of Emperor* (fig. 127)

Height: 13.8 cm.

Width: 10.9 cm.

Max. depth: 4.25 cm.

This fragment, formerly Ayasofya Museum, "Kariye 579," but now Archaeological Museum no. 71.137, was found in a burial pit in front of Metochites' (?) tomb in the parecclesion. It has a roughly triangular form, the break extending from the temples to a point between the lower lip and the chin. All the essentials in the face are thus preserved: the upper part of the head with a crown, the forehead, the eyes and their surroundings, the nose, and the mouth.

The emperor wears a crown with a raised centerpiece in front (no crosswise ribs are indicated). Jewels are indicated on the circlet: two round gems, one on top of the other, alternating with a square stone or enameled panel. The crown is worn well down on the forehead.

Deep furrows in the brow emphasize the powerful eyebrow arches, which overshadow the deep-set eyes. One vertical furrow in the forehead extends down to the clearly marked root of the nose. The nose is broad and flat and the nostrils are flattened; the transition from the nostrils to the cheeks is scarcely indicated.

The right eye has a faint indication of a pupil; the left eye has not, but there is a suggestion of a tear duct.

The lower lip protrudes and the corners of the mouth turn down, with deep furrows extending downward on both sides. There is no mustache. The part below the mouth is completely destroyed, but faint traces of surface treatment indicate a short, trimmed beard reminiscent of that of the tetrarchs.

It is striking that the stone on the front of the crown is off center; the head is turned, the emphasis in the modeling being on the right-hand side (the "principal plane" of the face), while the left-hand side is withdrawn; the left eye, for example, is carved deeply into the face and at an angle to the receding plane. This corresponds with the direction of the gaze indicated by the pupil.

The finish on the crown is rougher than that on the face, not that the latter has been given a particularly careful surface treatment; tool marks are still clearly visible. A few traces of a reddish color have been preserved in the surface, but these are not necessarily traces of paint, even though it may be presumed that the head was actually painted.

It is a strangely primitive and brutal face, and the displacement of the axes of the head and crown is further accentuated by the present state of preservation. The complete lack of context, the puzzling turn of the head, and the size—the head must have been a few centimeters larger than, for instance,

the head of the preserved saint on the capital of Tomb H—make it difficult to determine the original position and function of the figure. The fracture at the back is completely flat.

However, there are two obvious possibilities: 1. The fragment may have been part of a relief. This would explain the slight turn of the head and the crown off center, which is often noticeable when heads are shown in three-quarter profile. 2. The head may stem from a column, or rather a pilaster capital, placed between the two volutes, i.e., at the point where we would normally find a boss. Capitals with figural representations or heads alone in this position are encountered throughout the Mediterranean region in Antiquity,<sup>244</sup> and constitute a type that is related to capitals with animal protoms.<sup>245</sup> To indicate the range of geographical distribution within the relevant chronology, Coptic examples may be cited:<sup>246</sup> a capital with an angel's head from Jericho,<sup>247</sup> and examples in Istanbul.<sup>248</sup> A small, primitive capital in the sculpture garden of the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul,<sup>249</sup> featuring a rudimentary head surrounded by birds on the corner (fig. 128) can now be supplemented by a capital of considerable interest which made its appearance a few years ago.<sup>250</sup>

Found in 1969 in Bakirköy, this impost capital is a good example of Justinianic decoration (fig. 129). On the front can be seen a half-figure representation of a city personification (Constantinople?) or a Tyche flanked by winged victories bearing palms. The sides have fruit and leaf motifs in lozenge patterns. The capital can be grouped with the sculptural finds from St. Polyeuktos and related material.<sup>251</sup>

<sup>244</sup> E. von Mercklin, *Antike Figural kapitelle* (Berlin, 1962); N. L. Hirschland, "The Head Capitals of Sardis," *BSR*, 35 (1967), 12–22 (Severan); F. W. Deichmann, "Zu einigen spätantiken Figural-kapitellen," *Δελτ. Χριστ. Αρχ. Έτ.*, Ser. 4, 4 (1964–65 [1966]), 71–81.

<sup>245</sup> For these, see E. Kitzinger, "The Horse and Lion Tapestry at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP*, 3 (1947), 60 ff.

<sup>246</sup> Von Mercklin, *op. cit.*, nos. 46, 50. A pilaster capital in the Ikonenmuseum in Recklinghausen, said to come from a monastery by the Red Sea, has a small half figure of an emperor placed in the position of a boss and flanked by eagles (Inv. no. 501; cf. *Koptische Sammlung des Ikonen-Museums* [Recklinghausen, n.d.]; and K. Wessel, *Coptic Art* [London, 1965], 21, fig. 18). Wessel has argued for a dating to the second half of the sixth century, and has suggested the possibility of identifying the emperor as Tiberius II (578–82) (*ibid.*, 21). Cf. *Koptische Kunst. Christentum am Nil*, Exhibition catalogue, Villa Hügel, Essen (Essen–Bredeney, 1963), no. 104 (end of sixth century); *L'Art Copte*, Exhibition catalogue, Petit Palais, Paris (Paris, 1964), no. 72 (sixth–seventh century). Unfortunately, the upper part of the capital with the half figure and eagles has been heavily reworked, and cannot be used in this discussion (cf. G. Vikan, "The So-Called 'Sheikh Ibada Group' of Early Coptic Sculptures," paper at the Third Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Columbia University, 1977). I am indebted to Gary Vikan for a copy of his paper.

<sup>247</sup> Bagatti, *op. cit.* (note 42 *supra*), 234, fig. 106.

<sup>248</sup> Here I am disregarding capitals of the "Okeanos" type, which make up a separate category; cf. examples in Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien*, pl. 45, nos. 199 and 759: Archaeological Museum in Istanbul, nos. 748, 749.

<sup>249</sup> No. 4722 is dated to the sixth century by N. Firath, in *A Short Guide to the Byzantine Works of Art in the Archaeological Museum* (Istanbul, 1955), 42, pl. x. Dr. Firath informed me shortly before his death that he had changed his mind and believed the capital to be Middle Byzantine.

<sup>250</sup> Dr. Firath intended to publish no. 6229 in a catalogue of Byzantine sculpture, in preparation at the time of his death. I am grateful to Dr. Firath for permission to illustrate the capital here.

<sup>251</sup> Outlined by Harrison in connection with identification of a capital from St. Polyeuktos in Barcelona: "A Constantinopolitan Capital" (note 75 *supra*), 299.

While this capital constitutes an interesting typological parallel to the conjectured context of the Kariye fragment, it has no immediate bearing on its date. Stylistically the emperor's head is distinctive. The pronounced ugliness and the unharmonious composition of the face nevertheless form part of the late antique and Early Byzantine phases of development within the art of portrait sculpture. Characteristic traits of the fragment can be seen in more or less related forms in the fifth and sixth centuries.

An example is the head of a man from Sardis whose originally broad, flat nose (now broken off) and tight-lipped mouth leave the same impression of spite or scorn that characterizes our fragment.<sup>252</sup> Also related to this are a head in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul (storeroom)<sup>253</sup> and a badly damaged fragment in the Kunsthistorischen Museum in Vienna.<sup>254</sup> Established here is a tendency which developed in the fifth century and was formulated in an abstract and strongly stylized version in a porphyry head in Venice, the so-called Carmagnola head.<sup>255</sup>

Outside the sphere of portrait sculpture it is worth noting a representation on a slab of Christ (or an apostle), tentatively dated to the first half or middle of the sixth century, in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul.<sup>256</sup> Both the flattened nose and the mouth with the protruding underlip and the downward-turned corners intensify the general similarity to the Kariye fragment, although the surface treatment is even more crude on the limestone relief.

The parallels produced so far suggest a sixth-century date for the emperor's head. Within the coin material a number of general similarities can be pointed out between the fragment and emperors of the sixth century, for instance Maurice (582–602). The importance of contemporary coin pictures as likenesses, however, is slight,<sup>257</sup> and an identification on this basis is hardly possible. The coinage, furthermore, suggests a discrepancy between the sixth-century date proposed here and the type of crown represented. On coins this type only

<sup>252</sup> See G. M. A. Hanfmann, "On Late Roman and Early Byzantine Portraits from Sardis," *Hommages à M. Renard*, III (Brussels, 1969), 291 ff., pls. cxv–cxvii; and S. Sande, "Zur Porträtplastik des sechsten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts," *Acta IRNorv*, 6 (1975), 81 f., figs. 19–21.

<sup>253</sup> Sande, *op. cit.*, 83 f., fig. 23.

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.*, figs. 55, 56.

<sup>255</sup> R. Delbrück, "Carmagnola," *RM*, 29 (1914), 71 ff.; *idem*, *Antike Porphyrwerke* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1932), 119, fig. 48; H.-G. Severin, in Volbach and Lafontaine-Dosogne, *op. cit.* (note 179 *supra*), 206 no. 105; Sande, *op. cit.*, 97 (with further literature), pls. 51–52.

For an illustration of earlier stages of this development, see tetrarchic examples, such as the porphyry group in the Vatican (H. P. L'Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts* [Oslo, 1933], 16 ff., fig. 35), a portrait in Oslo (*ibid.*, no. 23, fig. 64), or a head (reworked) from Salona (*ibid.*, 102, fig. 246). Whether the strikingly furrowed brow in the Kariye fragment reflects a stylistic convention rather than strictly physiognomical characteristics is open to consideration. In the series of small heads, possibly dating from the late fourth or the first half of the fifth century, that were found during excavations at Saraçhane, similar furrows are used regardless of type of face and age; cf. Harrison and Firatlı, *op. cit.* (note 76 *supra*), 277, figs. 16–20. Also open to consideration is the question whether the dominating traits of the face reflect an attempt at ethnic characterization. For representations of negroes in art, see F. M. Snowden, Jr., *Blacks in Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970); L. Bugner, ed., *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, I, *From the Pharaohs to the Fall of the Roman Empire* (New York, 1976). The second volume of this three-volume work, *From the Early Christian Era to the Age of Discovery*, is now in preparation.

<sup>256</sup> No. 673: Grabar, *Sculptures*, I, 45, 49 f., pl. xiv, 2.

<sup>257</sup> P. Grierson *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, II, *Phocas to Theodosius III, 602–717* (Washington, D.C., 1968), pt. 1, 88 ff.

emerges in a clearly identical form in the tenth–eleventh century.<sup>258</sup> However, there are neither traces of pendilia nor indications of the crosswise ribs or bands on the crown represented on the fragment, as would have been expected on this type from the tenth century onward.

The imperial diadem has virtually become a crown proper on the Carmagno-la head; it is related to that of the Kariye head, but has a square centerpiece in which a round jewel is set instead of the elongated panel with curved termination as on the fragment. A number of sculpture variants exist that do not appear on coins; the diadem or crown with the large centerpiece is found widely in various forms from Late Antiquity onward, and does not seem to contradict the sixth-century date proposed for the fragment.<sup>259</sup>

#### 4. *Fragment of Icon in Champlevé Technique* (fig. 130)

Height: 12.0 cm.

Width: 18.5 cm.

Thickness: 3.1 cm.

The preserved fragment is part of an inlaid icon with the monogram for  $\delta \pi \rho \phi \eta \tau \eta \varsigma$  between the frame of the icon on the left, and the halo of the prophet on the right; the name of the prophet would have been given in a corresponding manner to the right of the head.

The prophet was probably represented under an arcade. The monogram extends slightly into the curve of the arch; between this and the frame is an ornament which fills the spandrel. The fragment has been trimmed at the top and on the left-hand side. Along the right-hand edge can be seen a little of the prophet's hair in the form of wavy grooves scratched into the halo. It is impossible to say whether the representation was a full or half figure, but it is possible to estimate the total width at *ca.* 45–50 cm.

The fragment has been executed in extremely low relief in the champlevé technique. Whereas the surface is carefully polished, the background is picked and uneven, its roughness forming a gripping surface for either stucco or a form of paste.<sup>260</sup> Some of the inlay, especially around the monogram, has been preserved. The color is red, the material may have been mastic.

<sup>258</sup> For a discussion of insignia on coins, see *ibid.*, II, pt. 1, 80 ff.; *ibid.*, III, *Leo III to Nicephorus III, 717–1081* (1973), 127 ff.; M. Restle, *Kunst und byzantinische Münzprägung von Justinian I. bis zum Bilderstreit*, TFBzNGPhil, 47 (Athens, 1964), 136 ff. For other tenth-century examples of the type of crown seen on the Kariye fragment, cf. David in Paris gr. 139, fol. 7<sup>v</sup> (Lazarev, *Storia* [note 154 *supra*], fig. 110), Constantine and Justinian in the mosaic in the southern vestibule of Hagia Sophia; cf. also a twelfth-century example: John II and Alexius Comnenus in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia.

<sup>259</sup> For variants of crowns, see R. Delbrueck, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts von Constantinus Magnus bis zum Ende des Westreiches* (Berlin–Leipzig, 1933), 65; Sande, *op. cit.*, 98. See also J. Deér, “Der Ursprung der Kaiserkrone,” *Schweizer Beiträge zur allgemeinen Geschichte*, 8 (1950), 51–87 (repr. in *Byzanz und das abendländische Herrschertum. Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Josef Deér* [Sigmaringen, 1977], 11–41). For examples of crowns related to the Kariye fragment, cf. the statue of an emperor at Barletta (Delbrueck, *op. cit.*, 219 [Marcian], Taf. 119), the Barberini diptych in the Louvre (*idem*, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler* [Berlin–Leipzig, 1929], 195, fig. 4 [detail]; Vollbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 48).

<sup>260</sup> The technique is described in Stillwell, *op. cit.* (note 191 *supra*), III, 124 f.



The technique is known from numerous fragments from the Martyrion at Seleucia dating from the close of the fifth century. Also now known, from Cyprus and of the same period, are fragments found recently in the ruins of the basilica in Kourion.<sup>261</sup>

The Archaeological Museum in Istanbul has a few examples of reliefs of this kind with representations of standing saints, but the technique is not entirely similar since the background is smoothly polished. These fragments date from the Middle Byzantine period.<sup>262</sup> The technique was not used in the finds from Fenari Isa Camii, where the filling material in the small icons consists of small plaques supplemented with colored paste, for instance in the lettering.<sup>263</sup>

The monogram appears in a number of variants, especially from the eleventh century onward, and continues to an increasing extent. Particularly during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries several combinations are to be found that bear a close resemblance to the monogram on our fragment. Whereas the *omicron* is often combined with the *phi*, as here, it is common for the *rho* to be placed above the *pi*. The monograms in the dome of Fethiye Camii are very similar, though there the *phi* is placed above the *pi-rho* combination. The closest similarities, however, are to be found in manuscripts such as Bibl. Vat., MS gr. 1153, of the thirteenth century,<sup>264</sup> and a New Testament with psalter dating from the middle of the fourteenth century in Moscow.<sup>265</sup> The fragment probably belongs to the same period, i.e., the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries.

##### 5. *Fragment of Relief in Champlevé Technique* (fig. 131)

Height: 25.0 cm.

Width: 15.0 cm.

Thickness: 5.0 cm.

The foreparts of two animals have been preserved within a curved frame: a dog chasing a lamb. Judging by the nature of the composition there was probably another dog behind or slightly above the lamb in the circular panel.

The technique is the same as that of the preceding fragment: a two-dimensional champlevé carving. The frame has a double molding; the background is roughly picked and deeper than that in the preceding fragment. The drawing within the outlines of the animals is in the form of sharply incised lines: in the lamb, for example, between the legs and on the head, which is represented as

<sup>261</sup> A. H. S. Megaw, in *DOP*, 28 (1974), 60f., fig. 2; other examples from Cyprus in the Cyprus Museum: *ibid.*, figs. 9 (plaque showing Daniel in the Lions' Den), 10 (ornamental pattern, from Carpassia); new examples reproduced by Megaw, in *DOP*, 30 (1976), figs. E and 19.

<sup>262</sup> K. Weitzmann, in Stillwell, *op. cit.*, III, p. 135.

<sup>263</sup> Macridy, "Monastery of Lips," 272f., fig. 74f. Variants of the technique can also be seen in the finds from Serçikler (Fıratlı, "Découverte d'une église" [note 205 *supra*], 151 ff.; Grabar, *Sculptures*, II, no. 11, p. 41f.), and in Parigoritissa in Arta (A. K. Orlandos, "Ἡ Παρηγορήτισσα τῆς Ἀρτῆς" [Athens, 1963], 93f., fig. 104f.; Grabar, *Sculptures*, II, no. 152, pl. cxxviii).

<sup>264</sup> Lazarev, *Storia*, fig. 407, the prophet Haggai, fol. 55v.

<sup>265</sup> The Historical Museum, MS gr. 407: *ibid.*, fig. 510, the prophet Habakkuk, fol. 502v, and another variant, fig. 517, the prophet Isaiah, fol. 489v.

a mask surrounded by ringlets of wool, the latter indicated by pick marks in the surface. The dog's eye is indicated by a drill hole with small lines surrounding it, and the same style of drawing is used for the legs. A studded collar is indicated.

Technically, this fragment bears a closer resemblance to the Seleucia and the Cyprus fragments. The primitive draftsmanship and figure conception are somewhat related to a relief of Daniel in the Lions' Den in the Cyprus Museum,<sup>266</sup> but the background is even more deeply cut, and it may well be possible that this was intended for inlaid marble pieces with plaster as a binder, as can be seen in the opus sectile floor in Zeyrek Camii (the Pantokrator) in Istanbul.<sup>267</sup> The more or less continuous tradition of champlévé carving, from the Early Byzantine to the Palaeologan period,<sup>268</sup> makes it difficult to place this modest piece in its proper context. It may be a Middle Byzantine, or even later, creation.

6. *Fragment of Limestone Statuette* (fig. 132)

Height: 27.0 cm.

Width: 15.5 cm.

Depth: *ca.* 10.0 cm.

The fragment, of limestone (or Malta stone), comprises most of the lower part of a standing, draped figure. The fracture at the top runs horizontally, approximately at hip level, while that at the bottom, also horizontal, passes just above the feet. The ankles and a small part of the legs can be discerned, and below the diagonal hem of the garment the figure's faintly protruding left knee. The figure stood on the right leg, the left reposing in a vaguely indicated counterpoise.

The statuette, which is cut to leave a flat surface at the rear, was recovered from one of the fillings in the church. The block is rough-hewn on the sides, and little attempt has been made to model the volume of the figure; it is almost cubic in form.

The very crude carving of the fragment is further accentuated by the comparatively soft and porous material, which gives it a rustic character not unlike that of the limestone sarcophagus fronts found in Taşkasap in Istanbul in 1958.<sup>269</sup> In particular, however, the summary drapery style of the fragment comes close to that which characterizes other fragments of sculpture in the Archaeological Museum published together with the Taşkasap reliefs: a slab with a representation of Abraham's Sacrifice<sup>270</sup> and a fragment of a relief

<sup>266</sup> Megaw, in *DOP*, 28, fig. 9.

<sup>267</sup> *Idem*, "Notes," 337f.

<sup>268</sup> Cf. examples in Arta (note 263), Fenari Isa Camii (Mango and Hawkins, "Additional Finds" [note 173 *supra*], 180, fig. 30), and Fethiye Camii (Underwood, "Notes: 1957-1959," *DOP*, 14 [1960], 218, fig. 17). I am grateful to A. H. S. Megaw for his illuminating remarks on the technique and the date of some of the material discussed here.

<sup>269</sup> Firath, "Deux nouveaux reliefs" (note 213 *supra*), 73ff., figs. 4, 5.

<sup>270</sup> No. 4141: *ibid.*, fig. 16a.

with a standing, draped figure.<sup>271</sup> The drapery style falls within the general trend of Late Roman and Early Byzantine sculpture.<sup>272</sup> Like the examples cited, this Kariye Camii fragment is also Early Byzantine.

C. EXTERNAL FRAGMENT: *Corbel with "Okeanos" Head* (fig. 133)

Full length of corbel: 84.0 cm.

Height: 22.5 cm.

Width: 16.0 cm.

Set into the wall on the southeastern corner of the parecclesion is a corbel with a representation of a head wreathed in leaves, placed in such a way that the endpiece with the mask faces the south side of the parecclesion. Of the block's full length the mask takes up about the last 10 cm. The eyes are set close together, the nose is small and flat, and the mouth is small and entirely framed by "hair" and a "beard" in the form of leaves.

The surface is badly damaged. Masks of a similar type appear frequently on capitals.<sup>273</sup> This one probably represents Okeanos, and like the other examples is Early Byzantine.

<sup>271</sup> No. 4536, found in Capa: *ibid.*, 91 and fig. 10.

<sup>272</sup> Cf. the fragments of a columnar sarcophagus of the "Asiatic type," in Mango and Ševčenko, "Some Churches and Monasteries" (note 241 *supra*), 257 and figs. 90–97, esp. fig. 94, from Kurşunlu.

<sup>273</sup> Cf. Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien*, pl. 45, nos. 199, 759. Other examples in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul are: a pilaster capital, no. 5189 (Grabar, *Sculptures*, I, pl. XIX,3); a capital, no. 2253 (Talbot Rice and Hirmer, *op. cit.* [note 130 *supra*], pl. 32 [bottom]); a pier with "peopled scroll," no. 4477 (Volbach, *Early Christian Art* [note 25 *supra*], pl. 80); the floor mosaics in The Great Palace (*The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors. Being a First Report on the Excavations Carried Out in Istanbul* [Oxford, 1947], pl. 49; and Talbot Rice and Hirmer, *op. cit.*, pl. 41).